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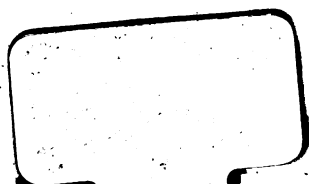
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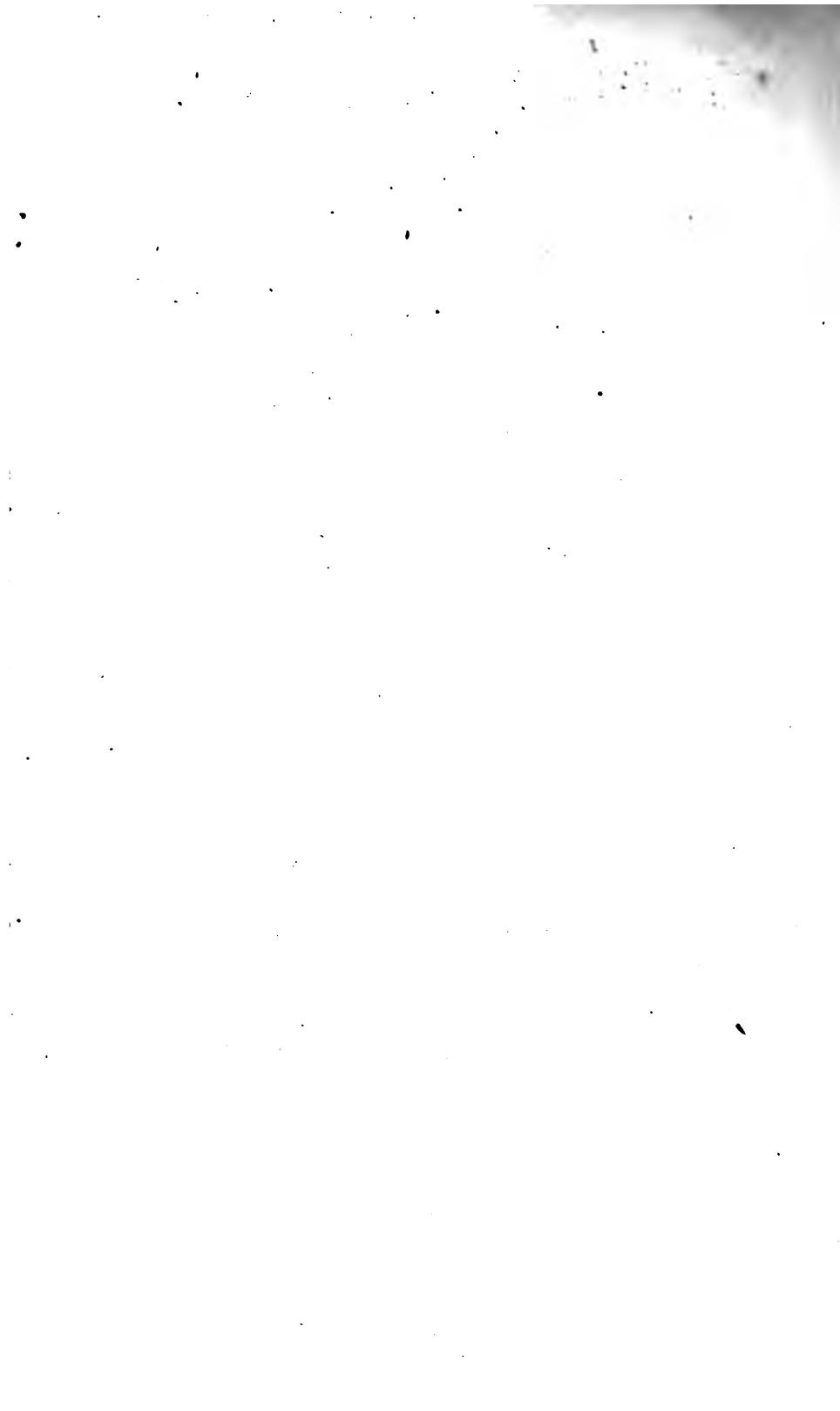
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THE
CONTINUOUS HISTORY
OF
ST. PAUL:
WITH
THE HORÆ PAULINÆ
SUBJOINED.

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SUBJOINED.

Κατ' ἴχνος βαδίζειν ἐθέλων
τοῦ ἀποστόλου Παύλου.

LONDON:
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THE
HORÆ PAULINÆ
OF
WILLIAM PALEY, D.D.



CARRIED OUT AND ILLUSTRATED IN
A CONTINUOUS HISTORY
OF THE
APOSTOLIC LABOURS AND WRITINGS
OF
ST. PAUL,
ON THE BASIS OF THE ACTS,
WITH INTERCALARY MATTER OF SACRED NARRATIVE SUPPLIED
FROM THE EPISTLES,
AND ELUCIDATED IN
OCCASIONAL DISSERTATIONS.

BY JAMES TATE, M.A.
CANON RESIDENTIARY OF ST. PAUL'S.

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INTRODUCTION

TO THE

CONTINUOUS HISTORY OF ST. PAUL.

WHEN Dr. Paley remarked, in his *Exposition of the Argument* of the *Horæ Paulinæ* (p. 9. as here reprinted), that his own subject, in that work of unrivalled merit and originality, had never been proposed or considered in the same view before ; it is much to be lamented, that he did not advance one step farther in his reflections. It might have occurred to his mind, that neither Ludovicus Cappellus nor Bishop Pearson nor Dr. George Benson nor Dr. Lardner, in the continued history of St. Paul's life which each of them had written, made up from the Acts of the Apostles and the Epistles joined together, could have given the whole of that history under its only true and natural aspect. They were not qualified to give it so ; inasmuch as not one of those authors, however successful as to *some* of the Epistles, had been fortunate enough to take the *whole* of them in that just succession, which Dr. P.'s own labours in the *Horæ Paulinæ* have so admirably contributed to point out and establish.

If happily for the cause of sacred learning Dr. Paley had thus reflected, he must have felt that a great desideratum, therefore, remained : and if he had then bent the powers of his mind to the task, such a complete narrative, on a correct and clear arrangement of all the

materials for it, might have been the result, as would have left nothing to regret in that great line of apostolic literature.

But what is the consequence now? Numerous and important as the points are, bearing on the apostle's personal history, which have their incidental illustration in the *Horæ Paulinæ*; yet for want of some collective retrospect to exhibit the points so gained in a distinct line of view, that value of his admirable work is even yet perhaps imperfectly estimated, while the farther task, to carry out those great beginnings of the *Horæ Paulinæ* into something like a regular narration, after the lapse of fifty years, is left for other hands, however inferior, to execute.

In the pursuit and execution of a design arduous enough, as a Christian and a Scholar, I have, with God's blessing, honestly done my best. The faithful labour now of some years has been assiduously devoted to the employment; and it would be an affectation of humility to dissemble the hope, that those efforts will be found not to have been bestowed in vain.

It must be immediately seen, that in tracing my course through the Pauline epistles, Dr. Paley's chart has been steadily kept in view; but it will be evident also, that I have not failed to take accurate observations of my own. On this point, indeed, every attentive reader is enabled to judge for himself. The passages in the *H. P.* are referred to more frequently, perhaps, than the occasion may always demand; and the texts from the New Testament are produced or quoted with similar exactness.

The object of the work, in whatever degree it is satisfactorily effected, will be to exhibit in a clearer light than before the series and succession of the labours and writings of St. Paul in every stage of his apostolic

course, and to develop the circumstances of every person and place, at all important, with which the Acts or the Epistles represent him connected.

In speaking thus largely, however, of the design on which these pages are occupied, as a solemn protest against misrepresentation let me now declare: that I do not believe one fact in the least affecting the historical evidence of Christianity, much less one word of truth necessary to the salvation of its followers, remains in these days, or can remain, for human ingenuity to discover and demonstrate. And yet so long as ever the Christian student shall take an interest in contemplating the truths and evidences of our common faith, no sincere attempts like the present to improve the clearness and consistency with which it may be historically viewed, will ever be unnecessary or ever be unwelcome.

My plan of proceeding in this work is easily seen on the inspection of its contents. The Acts of course constitute the basis of the sacred narrative; while such facts and circumstances, omitted in the direct history or slightly touched only, as can be supplied from the Epistles, in the place which invites their insertion, are duly incorporated with the Acts. But this is generally done in a manner so plain and favourable for consulting and verifying, that the reader can instantly refer to the particulars concerned, and judge on inspection for himself. The use which is here made of "undesigned coincidences" to complete or qualify passages in the apostolic history, forms a very essential part of the work, as the references to the H. P. will sufficiently show. Something also will be found to be done, where the coincidences, when seen, are direct and obvious enough; and that, in some cases, where without close and patient investigation, the light thrown from one passage on another could not have been elicited. Additions of

this latter kind, when they occur, it must be left to the reader to appreciate.

In order to preserve as much as might be the line of personal narrative without interruption, whatever in the way of argument became necessary for elucidating either facts or reasonings, has been generally set aside for separate perusal, in an Appendix of Dissertations; for all of which the best attention that can be given, may be reasonably claimed. The most important subject of the whole, perhaps, from its involving so deeply and extensively the just succession of apostolic events, is that in Appendix D, p. 152., on the "developement of Corinthian transactions," &c., and especially at p. 160. s. 6., the "Original argument against the early date of the Epistle 1 TIMOTHY."

By no single cause of error, perhaps, have learned men been more speciously misled than by their confounding the apostle's departure from Ephesus after the riot, in Acts xx. 1., with that mentioned to Timothy, in 1 TIM. i. 3. And no pains therefore can be considered superfluous which may serve to exhibit the misdating of that one event in its true light, as disturbing the harmony of all others any way connected with it.

The posteriority indeed of that epistle (and of the Epistle to TITUS along with it) to St. Paul's first imprisonment at Rome constitutes the very column; on which the calculation here adopted and maintained for what is called the Last apostolic progress, has entirely to rest for its support. And I feel no hesitation in declaring myself, to the full extent of moral proof, convinced; that such in the main, as here elicited from the two Epistles, must those facts have been which fill up the interval, otherwise quite blank, betwixt the first and second times of imprisonment at Rome.

On the subject of *Chronology*, some farther account

of what has been done, may naturally be expected. And here let me say very candidly, that the task of chronological research, strictly so called, I have regarded not as lying out of my way, but as a very fit subject for separate inquiry. I have set myself, therefore, to investigate and determine the series and succession of the principal events in the line of apostolical history, without making any attempt to calculate exactly the period of time betwixt every one great point in that line and every other. It may not be always true, but in this department of sacred narrative it can hardly, I think, be denied, that the *succession* of events, if once ascertained, may throw light on the calculation of *intervals* ; while no intervals, that I can see, are yet by general agreement so certainly defined, as to afford a safe clue for adjusting the succession where that is otherwise matter of dispute.

For the present I have adopted, if not as absolutely correct, yet as not very far from the truth, the dates of Bishop Tomline given in his *Introduction to the Study of the Bible*, part ii. ch. 7., *Of St. Paul*. At all events, in general agreement with Dr. Paley, his calculations are formed on that relative order of the epistles, which it is one purpose of this work more clearly to establish : and from the adoption of those dates, with that understanding, no important error is ever likely to ensue.

For *geographical* assistance in reading the Continuous History, something in the way of an appropriate sketch has been attempted. In my judgment, for practically illustrating the travels of St. Paul, the simplest plan will be the best also. Suppose the leading aspect of different countries from good maps to be already known, which for the most part may safely enough be assumed ; and then let the map here given for that especial purpose, exhibit all the places on record

as actually traversed, so much and no more. The student will have the lands and seas in outline before him ; and as he reads of each separate journey or voyage, he can surely trace for himself the course of the narrative, just as the apostle passes along from one distinct scene of action or suffering to another. A plan like this, if fairly pursued, will hardly fail to answer its end.

To the NOTES critical and grammatical a few words may next be allotted. In some passages, more or less important, where our Version was not constructed on the true text, as being at that era not known or not duly appreciated, I have readily availed myself, but only where the subject demanded it, of the *Lectio indubie genuina* of the text of Griesbach, to secure the just and satisfactory interpretation. And if on some other texts with less urgent reason for it I have once or twice delivered a remark of illustration, the lovers of correct learning will hardly condemn a liberty taken within such modest bounds.

On *all* occasions, whether adverted to in the NOTES or not, wherever I have in any way freely deviated from our Version, the better to bring out the meaning of the original, to qualify or develope it ; the attentive reader with his New Testament open for reference will be at no loss to discern what is so intended, and to accept it accordingly.

The INDEX of *places* and *persons*, &c. will be found particularly useful as presenting in the order of time a brief sketch of each subject, according to the relation which it bore to the principal agent. That Index will be not less efficient also, to show how the subordinate parts harmonize with the whole and with each other ; as well as to demonstrate that collective consequence both of persons and places, which might be undervalued,

if not lost, when occurring in points of distant detail. TROAS alone may well suffice to exemplify the latter remark.

The CONTINUOUS HISTORY is here divided into *Parts*. Some account may be expected of that division. My first idea was that now exhibited in the body of the work,

in Part I. to place whatever is known of St. Paul prior to his first apostolic progress, to p. 10. ;

in Part II. the three apostolic progresses from Antioch, including the private journey and the public mission to Jerusalem between the first and second of those progresses, and the third progress terminating, at p. 81., in the great Jewish Persecution which closes with his deliverance from the first imprisonment at Rome, p. 117. ;

in Part III. the fourth and last apostolic progress, from Rome, p. 124. ;

in Part IV. his return to Rome, and his martyrdom there, p. 132.

In point of facility, however, for comprehension and memory, I have since thought that method of classifying the principal events, given in the five *Chronological Tables* here subjoined, to have the decisive advantage ; especially as the three early progresses, those from Antioch, are concluded each in its own Table, i. ii. iii., while Table iv., devoted to the long persecution which began at Jerusalem, preludes to Table v. of the last Progress, that from Rome to Rome again, which leads at once to the Apostle's martyrdom.

Very fortunately by either method the large groupings of historic matter are presented according to their real importance ; so that no inconvenience is likely to arise, whichever of the two divisions be at the time preferred and followed. But for permanent use that

of the Tables will justly have the preference : it is recommended for adoption accordingly.

And here, before concluding, the pleasing office remains, to acknowledge some particular obligations contracted in the course of this work, which has in fact been long and laborious.

Dr. Hastings Robinson, well known as a scholar and a divine, deserves my best thanks for the benefit derived from the use of his library, and the reference, at times, to his judgment, during my residence in that part of Essex ; where the convenience of immediate neighbourhood favoured the enjoyment of friendship with such persons as Dr. H. R., the Rector of Great Warley, and our common friend, Mr. Yorke, the Rector of Shenfield.

To my son, Mr. Thomas Tate, now in the cure of Edmonton, as heretofore in that of Hutton, my valuable coadjutor, I testify, with much pleasure, that I have been greatly indebted : very much so for his aid at a critical period of my labours, in the happy extrication out of certain difficulties, occasioned by that brevity, bordering on the obscure, with which the movements of the Apostle are sometimes narrated in the Acts.

For frequent readiness to assist me by his accurate and extensive acquaintance with ecclesiastical antiquity, let my estimable young friend, Mr. R. C. Jenkins, of Trinity College, Cambridge, be thus duly thanked. His *Short Defence of the Eucharistical Doctrine of the Church of England* has been already well received ; and may justify the expectation in time of maturer fruits from learning and talent like his so united.

Amen Corner, St. Paul's,
Oct. 21. 1840.

SIX CHRONOLOGICAL TABLES

OF THE

PRINCIPAL EVENTS, &c.

A. D.	TABLE I.	Page
34.	SAUL before his conversion - -	1
35.	. . . the conversion of <i>Saul</i> . - -	3
	Saul afterwards at Damascus: his journey into Arabia, and return. - - - -	5
38.	Escapes from Damascus. Saul at Jerusalem, thence to Tarsus . . . - - -	6, 7
	<hr/>	
	The <i>Gospel</i> preached out of <i>Palestine</i> - -	8
	<i>first to Jews, then to Gentile Proselytes</i> - -	9
	<hr/>	
42.	Barnabas brings Saul to Antioch for his co- adjutor . . . - - -	—
	CHRISTIANS first so named in that city. - -	—
44.	The dearth in Judea: relief carried by B. and S. from Antioch. - - - -	10
	<hr/>	
45.	From Antioch, the FIRST APOSTOLIC PROGRESS, of Barnabas and Saul, solemnly commis- sioned: - - - -	11, 12
	To the isle of Cyprus, where Sergius Paulus, <i>the</i> <i>first idolatrous Gentile, is converted</i> : - -	13
	to Antioch in Pisidia, where <i>Paul</i> (now so called) preaches, - - - -	15
	and there <i>the first great conversion of idolatrous</i> <i>Gentiles</i> . - - - -	18
	From Antioch they flee to Iconium; thence, to Lystra: - - - -	19
	the miraculous cure of the cripple there, and its consequences: - - - -	20
	thence to Derbe, and there without any hindrance	21
	Through Pisidia to Pamphylia . . . and by Attalia back to ANTIOCH in Syria, - -	22
	now the <i>metropolis of Gentile Christianity</i> .	

TABLE II.

A. D.		Page
	As preliminary to the <i>second Apostolic Progress</i> , two important events may be considered and placed here:—	
[48.]	the <i>private journey</i> of Paul and Barnabas with Titus - - - - -	23
	to Jerusalem, followed by the rebuke of Peter at Antioch;	
49.	the <i>public mission</i> of Paul and Barnabas to Jerusalem, - - - - -	26
	the council held there, and the decree.	
<hr/>		
50.	From Antioch, the SECOND APOSTOLIC PROGRESS. Paul, not now with Barnabas, but accompanied by Silas, - - - - -	32
	sets out, through Syria and Cilicia, to visit the Churches:	34
	at Lystra joined by Timothy, through Phrygia and (the <i>first time</i>) <i>Galatia</i> , - - - - -	35, 36
	onward to <i>Troas</i> , the <i>first time</i> ; there joined by Luke, they pass into Macedonia. - - - - -	37
	At <i>Philippi</i> , the <i>first time</i> , cruelly treated; - - - - -	38
	but the foundation of a pure church miraculously laid there:	
	to <i>Thessalonica</i> and Berea; from Berea, Paul escapes by sea, - - - - -	41..43
	passes to Athens, his discourse there on Mars' Hill: - - - - -	44
51.	to <i>Corinth</i> the <i>first time</i> , meets with Aquila and Priscilla, - - - - -	47
	writes the EPISTLE to the GALATIANS; - - - - -	48
	overtaken there by Silas and Timothy, from Berea and Thessalonica;	
	writes the 1 and 2 EPISTLES to the THES-SALONIANS... - - - - -	50
	is carried by the Jews before Gallio, who drives them away. - - - - -	51
	From Corinth, to <i>Ephesus</i> the <i>first time</i> , a short stay there... - - - - -	53
	and visits Jerusalem in his way, before he re- turns - - - - -	—
53.	from the second progress, to ANTIOCH.	

TABLE III.

		Page
A. D.	From Antioch, the THIRD PROGRESS.	
	Paul, now attended by Timothy, Erastus, and Titus, - - - - -	56
	revisits the churches, of <i>Galatia</i> the <i>second</i> time, and of <i>Phrygia</i> . . - - -	57
54.	then goes down to <i>Ephesus</i> , the <i>second</i> time, where he exercises the dispensation of miraculous gifts. - - - - -	58
		59
56.	Writes the <i>First</i> EPISTLE to the CORINTHIANS: the occasion of it. - - - - -	61
	After the riot raised by Demetrius, he leaves <i>Ephesus</i> abruptly, - - - - -	63
	by <i>Troas</i> , <i>second</i> time, hastens to <i>Philippi</i> , the <i>second</i> time, - - - - -	66
	where he overtakes Timothy, and meets Titus — (whom he had sent, by different ways, to Corinth, pp. 154, 5.)	
	Writes the <i>Second</i> EPISTLE to the CORINTHIANS. - - - - -	66
	From <i>Philippi</i> he goes over those parts as far as <i>Illyricum</i> , - - - - -	67
57.	and thence once more, now the <i>second</i> time, to Corinth: - - - - -	—
	from that city writes the EPISTLE to the ROMANS. - - - - -	—
	On his return, he chuses to take the route through <i>Macedonia</i> , . . - - -	71
	— at <i>Philippi</i> , the <i>third</i> time, and so by <i>Troas</i> the <i>third</i> time . . - - -	73
	At <i>Miletus</i> , has the Elders from <i>Ephesus</i> to meet him; - - - - -	75
	thence to <i>Cesarea</i> , and though solemnly warned of his danger, - - - - -	78
58.	he goes up to <i>Jerusalem</i> , where his <i>third Progress</i> is abruptly terminated - - - - -	79

by *Persecution of the Jews.*

TABLE IV.

A. D.		Page
58.	The great JEWISH PERSECUTION (to the end of the Acts) - - - - -	82
	begins at Jerusalem, where Paul is violently apprehended in the Temple... Proceedings there before the chief captain Lysias: before the Chief Priests: - - - - -	83
	he is carried away to Cesarea for safety; - - - - -	88
	on his trial there before Felix, accused by the Jews: - - - - -	89
	Felix (with Drusilla) hears him concerning the faith in Christ. - - - - -	91
	Festus after two years succeeds to Felix. - - - - -	92
	(During that period, how Luke had been occupied, p. 162.)	
	Paul, to protect himself from treachery, appeals to Cæsar: - - - - -	95
	and before Agrippa (and Bernice) delivers that wonderful speech. - - - - -	97
60.	He is sent off to Rome, with Luke and Aristarchus as his companions; - - - - -	100
	the voyage till they reach the isle of Crete... the danger - - - - -	101
61.	then foreseen and foretold — and the shipwreck at Malta . . - - - - -	104
	Paul and the viper . . he miraculously also heals the father of Publius. - - - - -	105
	After three months, they set sail, and touch at Syracuse . .	
	at Puteoli, where they land, brethren are found . . afterwards is met by brethren from Rome; and on arriving there, declares to the Jews the cause of his coming. - - - - -	107
	During the two years in that city, visited or attended by various friends,	
62.	he writes EPISTLES to EPHESIANS, COLOSSIANS, PHILEMON. - - - - -	108 .. 112
	Luke probably left him (how to be occupied and where, p. 116.) before he wrote the EPISTLE to the PHILIPPIANS. - - - - -	—
	Soon after that came his expected liberation from the <i>first</i> imprisonment at ROME.	
	N.B. His <i>Epistle</i> to the HEBREWS probably written soon after this time.	

TABLE V.

A. D.		Page
	<i>Last Progress from Rome to Rome again, ending in the second imprisonment and martyrdom there.</i>	
	<hr/>	
63.	Paul, intending to visit Asia first, and afterwards Macedonia, - - -	118
	takes with him Titus and Timothy . . -	119
	the one he stations in Crete; the other he leaves at <i>Ephesus</i> , - - -	120
	now visited by him for the <i>third</i> time:	
	he himself, viâ <i>Troas</i> , visits PHILIPPI, both for the <i>fourth</i> time . . . -	121
	from Philippi, he writes to TIMOTHY the FIRST EPISTLE, and - - -	—
	before setting out to the N. W. parts, he writes the EPISTLE to TITUS, and summons him to Nicopolis, as the place where he means to winter. - - -	123
	After accomplishing these plans, Paul on his return takes <i>Corinth</i> , now visited for the <i>third</i> time; passes over to <i>Ephesus</i> , the <i>fourth</i> time visited; leaves Trophimus sick at Miletus; and soon after arrives in Rome. - - -	124
	There he is again apprehended; during his imprisonment writes the sacred legacy of his last farewell,	
	the SECOND EPISTLE to TIMOTHY, 125	
	(now at Philippi, pp. 123, 4., whither he had been some time ago removed from Ephesus;)	
65 [or 66.]	and at Rome Paul suffers Martyrdom -	132

TABLE VI.

OF THE XIII EPISTLES WHICH BEAR THE NAME OF PAUL,
IN THEIR JUST ORDER OF TIME AND PLACE.

A. D.		Page
	<i>Six</i> , before the Jewish persecution which carried him from Jerusalem to Rome : —	
51.	GALATIANS	48
—	1 & 2 THESSALONIANS { written from Corinth, in his second Progress }	
56.	1 CORINTHIANS, from Ephesus	61
—	2 CORINTHIANS, from Philippi	
57.	ROMANS, from Corinth	67
<hr/>		
	<i>Four</i> , from Rome, while imprisoned there : —	
62.	EPHESIANS, COLOSSIANS, PHILEMON,	108 .. 112
	PHILIPPIANS, shortly before his liberation —	
<hr/>		
	<i>Two</i> , after he left Rome, on his fourth Progress : —	
64.	1 TIMOTHY, and TITUS, both from Philippi	121 .. 123
<hr/>		
	<i>One</i> , in his final imprisonment : —	
65 [or 66.]	2 TIMOTHY, from Rome	125

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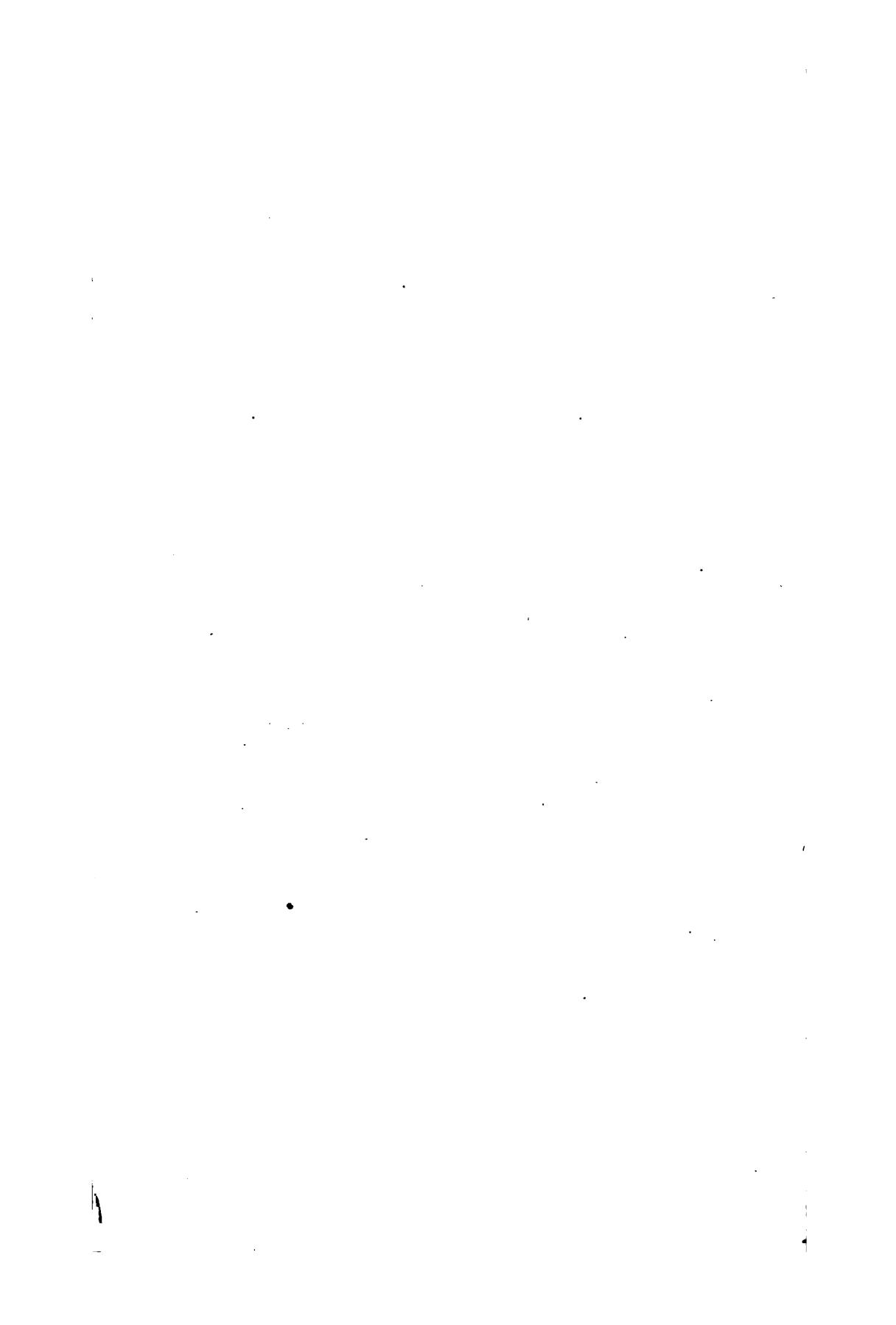
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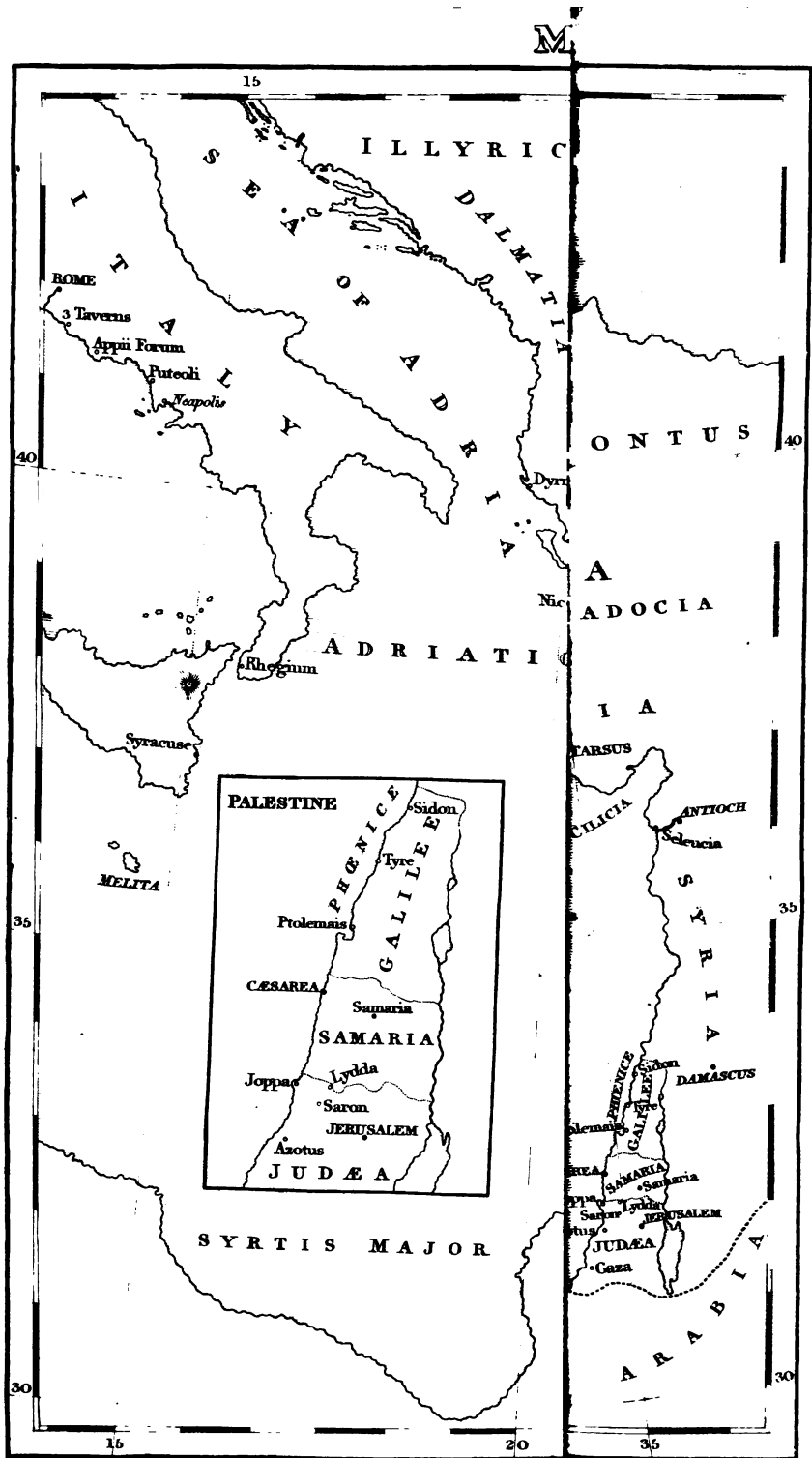
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PART I.

THE HISTORY OF ST. PAUL PRIOR TO HIS FIRST APOSTOLIC PROGRESS.

SAUL BEFORE HIS CONVERSION.

ROM. xi. 1. An Israelite, of the seed of Abraham of the tribe of Benjamin.

PHILIP. iii. 5. Circumcised the eighth day, of the stock of Israel, of the tribe of Benjamin, an Hebrew of the Hebrews, as touching the law a Pharisee ;

6. Concerning zeal, persecuting the church ; touching the righteousness which is in the law, blameless.

ACTS xxii. 3. I am verily a man which am a Jew, born in Tarsus—

(xxi. 39. a city in Cilicia ; a citizen of no mean city) — yet brought up in this city (Jerusalem) at the feet of Gamaliel (for whose reputation and wisdom, see ACTS, ch. v. 34...39.), and taught according to the perfect manner of the law of the fathers, and was zealous toward God, as ye all are this day.

A. vii. 55. Stephen, being full of the Holy Ghost, looked up stedfastly into heaven, and saw the glory of God, and Jêsus standing on the right hand of God.

56. And said, Behold, I see the heavens opened, and the Son of man standing on the right hand of God.

57. Then they cried out with a loud voice, and stopped their ears, and ran upon him with one accord,

Acts vi. 58. And cast him out of the city, and stoned him : and the witnesses laid down their clothes at a young man's feet, whose name was Saul.

59. And they stoned Stephen, calling upon *God*, and saying, Lord Jesus, receive my spirit.

60. And he kneeled down, and cried with a loud voice, Lord, lay not this sin to their charge ! And when he had said this, he fell asleep.

A. xxii. 20. And when the blood of thy martyr Stephen was shed, I also was standing by, and consenting unto his death, and kept the raiment of them that slew him.

A. viii. 1. And Saul was consenting unto his death. And at that time there was a great persecution against the church which was at Jerusalem ; and they were all scattered abroad throughout the regions of Judea and Samaria, except the apostles.

2. And certain good and pious men (see NOTE) carried Stephen to his burial, and made great lamentation over him.

3. As for Saul, he made havock of the church, entering into every house ; and haling men and women, committed them to prison.

4. Therefore they that were scattered abroad, went every where preaching the word.

THE CONVERSION OF SAUL.

Acts ix. 1. And Saul yet breathing out threatenings and slaughter against the disciples of the Lord, went unto the high priest,

ACTS ix. 2. And desired of him letters to Damascus to the synagogues, (that is, several, for Damascus abounded in a Jewish population,) that if he found any of this way, whether they were men or women, he might bring them bound unto Jerusalem.

3. And as he journeyed, he came near Damascus ; and suddenly there shined round about him a light from heaven :

4. And he fell to the earth, and heard a voice saying unto him, Saul, Saul, why persecutest thou me ?

5. And he said, Who art thou, Lord ? And the Lord said, I am Jesus whom thou persecutest : it is hard for thee to kick against the pricks.

6. And he trembling and astonished said, Lord, what wilt thou have me to do ? And the Lord said unto him, Arise, and go into the city, and it shall be told thee what thou must do.

7. And the men which journeyed with him stood speechless, hearing the voice, but seeing no man.

8. And Saul arose from the earth ; and when his eyes were opened, he saw no man : but they led him by the hand, and brought him into Damascus.

9. And he was three days without sight, and neither did eat nor drink.

10. And there was a certain disciple (a Christian convert) at Damascus, named Ananias : and to him said the Lord in a vision, Ananias. And he said, Behold, I am here, Lord.

11. And the Lord said unto him, Arise, and go into the street which is called Straight, and inquire in the house of Judas for one called Saul of Tarsus : for, behold, he prayeth,

12. And hath seen in a vision a man named Ananias coming in, and putting his hand on him, that he might recover his sight.

ACTS ix. 13. Then Ananias answered, Lord, I have heard by many of this man, how much evil he hath done to thy saints at Jerusalem :

14. And here he hath authority from the chief priests to bind all that call on thy name.

15. But the Lord said unto him, Go thy way : for he is a chosen vessel unto me, to bear my name before the Gentiles, and kings, and the children of Israel :

16. For I will shew him how great things he must suffer for my name's sake.

17. And Ananias went his way, and entered into the house (v. 11.), and putting his hands on him, said, Brother Saul, the Lord, even Jesus, that appeared unto thee in the way as thou camest, hath sent me, that thou mightest recover thy sight, and be filled with the Holy Ghost.

18. And immediately there fell from his eyes as it had been scales ; and he recovered sight forthwith, and arose, and was baptized.

19. And when he had received meat, he was strengthened, *i. e.* restored to his usual strength.

The parallels in his own narrative of this miraculous event, on two different occasions afterwards, will be found below, A. xxii. 4...16., and xxvi. 9...18. And for the correspondency betwixt the apostle's history given in this part of the ACTS and various particulars of it recorded in his own epistles, HORÆ PAULINÆ, pp. 81...85. may be advantageously consulted.

A. ix. 19. Then was Saul some days (not many) with the disciples which were at Damascus.

20. And straightway he preached Jesus (see NOTE).

in the synagogues, that he is the Son of God, in other words, the Messiah that was to come.

ACTS ix. 21. But all that heard him were amazed, and said, Is not this he that destroyed them which called on this name in Jerusalem, and came hither for that intent, that he might bring them bound unto the chief priests ?

22. But Saul increased the more in strength, and confounded the Jews which dwelt at Damascus, proving that this person (Jesus of Nazareth) is indeed the Messiah.

All circumstances considered, here seems the place in order of time to introduce what by Luke on his plan of brevity is here passed over in silence, the journey into Arabia ; of which we should have known nothing, had not the apostle been led himself to record it by a peculiar occasion, and for the purpose of giving strength to his argument, that his was a divine commission, and dependent on no human authority.

GALAT. i. 15...17., and see H. P. 81, 2.

15. But when it pleased God, who separated me from my mother's womb, and called me by his grace,

16. To reveal his Son in me, that I might preach him among the heathen ; immediately I conferred not with flesh and blood :

17. Neither went I up to Jerusalem to them which were apostles before me ; but I went into Arabia, and returned again unto Damascus.

This seclusion seems to have lasted during a great part at least of the three years mentioned in GALAT. i. 18. as quoted below.

ACTS ix. 23. And after that many days (the same with those *three years*, H. P. 82. Note) were thus fulfilled, the Jews (at Damascus) took counsel to kill him :

24. But their laying await was known of Saul. And they watched the gates day and night to kill him.

25. Then the disciples took him by night, and let him down by the wall in a basket.

For the account of this deliverance as related in 2 CORINTH. xi. 32, 33. and its correspondency with that here given, *vide* H. P. 56.

And now before resuming the direct history of the ACTS, let the following brief narrative come in as its parallel.

GALAT. i. 18. Then after three years (*i. e.* from his conversion) I went up to Jerusalem, to become acquainted with Peter, to visit and converse with him ; and I abode with him accordingly, but only for fifteen days.

(The shortness of that stay is accounted for below, A. ix. 29, 30., and *vide* H. P. 97.)

19. But other of the apostles saw I none, at that time, save James the Lord's brother.

ACTS ix. 26. And when Saul was come from Damascus to Jerusalem, he assayed to join himself to the disciples generally : but they were all afraid of him at the first, and could not believe that he was indeed a disciple.

27. But Barnabas (who seems therefore to have had some previous acquaintance with Saul) took him by the hand, and brought him to the apostles (Peter and James

the Less), and declared unto them (on his own conviction) how Saul had seen the Lord on that journey, and that the Lord had spoken to him, and how he had preached boldly at Damascus in the name of Jesus.

ACTS ix. 28. And Saul after this was with the disciples, coming in and going out, at Jerusalem.

29. And he spake boldly in the name of the Lord Jesus, and disputed against the Grecians in particular, — these were foreign Jews who spoke the Greek language and not the Hebrew of that day; and from Damascus probably at this time, some of those who had taken counsel to destroy him there, *suprà*, v. 23. — but they now showed increased perverseness and actually went about to slay him :

30. Which wicked design of the Grecians when the brethren knew, they brought him down to Cæsarea, and sent him forth (by sea) to Tarsus.

— In that city, and in Cilicia generally, he would immediately devote himself to the planting of those churches which we find him afterwards (A. xv. 41.) confirming. —

During this short stay of Saul at Jerusalem, he was also warned in a vision not to remain unprofitably there, for that he was designed to occupy another and distant field of apostolic labour.

A. xxii. 17. And it came to pass that when I was come again to Jerusalem, even while I prayed in the temple, I was in a trance ;

18. And saw the Lord saying unto me, Make haste, and get thee quickly out of Jerusalem : for they will not receive thy testimony concerning me.

21. And he said unto me, Depart : for I will send thee far hence, among the Gentiles.

ACTS ix. 31. Then had the churches rest throughout all Judea and Galilee and Samaria, being edified accordingly; and walking in the fear of the Lord and in the comfort of the Holy Ghost, were multiplied and increased in numbers.

“ This *rest* synchronises with the attempt of Caligula to place his statue in the temple of Jerusalem; the threat of which outrage produced amongst the Jews a consternation that, for a season, diverted their attention from every other object.” — *Paley's Evidences of Christianity*, ed. 1825. pp. 294. and 42.

A. xi. 19. Now they which were scattered abroad upon the persecution that arose about Stephen, had travelled as far as Phenice and Cyprus and Antioch, —

— Antioch, the capital of Syria, ranking as a city next after Rome and Alexandria, and here first mentioned, is ere long to become the metropolis of Gentile Christianity, —

and they preached the word to none but to the Jews only for some time at the first.

— But the surprising conversion of the devout Cornelius and his family by the apostle Peter (A. ch. x.), with the miraculous instruction stated as the all-sufficient plea for his conduct (xi. 1...18.), might in the mean while have become known to those pious missionaries. Suppose that to have taken place; and every thing in this stage as in others will proceed naturally along in gradual advancement.

20. And some of them were men of Cyprus and of Cyrene (in Libya), which when they were come to An-

tioc, spake unto the Greeks, *i. e.* Gentile proselytes, preaching unto them also the Lord Jesus.

(In regard to the names, *Greeks*, and *Grecians*, so essentially affecting the sense of the whole passage, satisfaction, it is hoped, will be afforded in the NOTE on this verse.)

ACTS xi. 21. And the hand of the Lord was with them in this new spiritual enterprise : and a great number of the Greeks believed and turned unto the Lord, *i. e.* became converts to the gospel.

22. Then tidings of these things, of proselytes also being taught and converted, came unto the ears of the church which was at Jerusalem : and they, in consequence of it, sent forth Barnabas, that he should go, with their authority, as far as Antioch,

23. Who, when he came there and had seen the grace of God thus farther extended, was glad accordingly ; and exhorted them all, that with purpose of heart they would cleave unto the Lord.

24. For he was a man truly benevolent, and not only so, but full of the Holy Ghost and of faith : and much people (of the proselyte class) was now added to the Lord.

25. Then departed Barnabas to Tarsus (*vide* A. ix. 30.) for to seek Saul and to take him as his coadjutor.

26. And when Barnabas had found him, he brought him unto Antioch.

— On this part of Saul's history while at Tarsus, and afterwards in company with Barnabas, H. P. 71, 2. may be profitably consulted. —

And it came to pass, that for a whole year Barnabas and Saul assembled themselves with the church, and taught much people.

And it is thought worthy of being recorded here, that by an appropriate appellation the disciples were called CHRISTIANS first in Antioch.

Acts xi. 27. And in these days came prophets from Jerusalem unto Antioch.

28. And there stood up one of them named Agabus, and signified by the Spirit that there should be great dearth throughout all that part of the world (especially Judea): which came to pass in the days of Claudius Cæsar.

29. Then the disciples at Antioch, every man according to his ability, determined to send relief unto the brethren which dwelt in Judea:

30. Which also they did, and sent it to the elders there by the hands of Barnabas and Saul.

— “As far as we know or have reason to believe, this is the first transaction of the kind in the history of the world.” — *Bishop Sumner's Practical Exposition on the Acts.*

PART II.

THE THREE APOSTOLIC PROGRESSES FROM ANTIOCH,

WITH THE PRIVATE JOURNEY AND THE PUBLIC MISSION
TO JERUSALEM, BETWEEN THE FIRST AND SECOND
PROGRESS.

(FROM ACTS xii. 25. TO ACTS xxi. 6.)

THE FIRST PROGRESS.

(ACTS xiii. to ACTS xiv. 27.)

ACTS xii. 25. And Barnabas and Saul returned to Antioch from Jerusalem, when they had fulfilled their ministry, that of carrying relief unto the brethren (those first believers) which dwelt in Judea (A. xi. 27...30.) to meet the distress of that dearth which Agabus had predicted :

And they took with them from Jerusalem John, whose surname was Mark, and whose mother, Mary, a person of some eminence among the Christians of Jerusalem (H. P. 147, 8.), was sister to Barnabas.

Barnabas himself so surnamed (Son of Consolation) by the apostles (his original name having been Joses,) was a Levite, of the country of Cyprus ; whose disinterested generosity is duely recorded, as worthy of especial remark, A. iv. 36, 7.

A. xiii. 1. Now there were in the church that was at Antioch certain prophets and teachers ; as Barnabas, and Simeon that was called Niger, and Lucius of Cyrene, and Manaen, which had been brought up with Herod the tetrarch, and Saul.

Acts xiii. 2. As they ministered to the Lord in fasting and prayer, the Holy Ghost said, Separate me Barnabas and Saul, for the extraordinary work of preaching the gospel among the Gentiles, to which I have expressly called them.

3. And when on a solemn day appointed for the purpose they had fasted and prayed, and laid their hands on the two apostles, they after that special ordination sent them away on their great errand.

4. So they, Barnabas and Saul, being sent forth by the Holy Ghost, departed from Antioch.

Outline of the First Progress.

The places to which they travelled, with the principal events, may be traced in the following sketch or summary.

A. xiii. From Antioch to Seleucia ; thence to the isle of Cyprus, v. 4., where at Salamis they preach, v. 5. : at Paphos they meet with Elymas the sorcerer : Sergius Paulus, the governor, v. 7., is converted, and Saul now takes the name of Paul, v. 9.

From Paphos, to Perga in Pamphylia, v. 13., where John-Mark leaves them : from Perga to Antioch in Pisidia, v. 14., where Paul preaches in the synagogue, vv. 16...41. ; the effects of it on the proselytes and the Gentiles, and on the Jews, to v. 50.

They next go to Iconium, v. 51., and are driven away, xiv. 5., by persecution of the Jews.

They now first visit Lystra, xiv. 6., where Paul healeth the cripple ; its extraordinary consequences, to v. 18.

From Lystra, driven away by Jews (of Antioch and Iconium), who stoned Paul apparently to death, they

go next to Derbe, unmolested there, v. 21., in preaching the word.

Thence return to Lystra, Iconium, and Antioch, to confirm the disciples, ordain elders, &c., to v. 23.

Through Pisidia into Pamphylia, to Perga and then to Attalia ; from thence finally to Antioch in Syria, the Gentile metropolis, close of ch. xiv.

ACTS xiii. 4. Barnabas and Saul then departed from Antioch, and went first to the city of Seleucia ; and from thence they sailed to the isle of Cyprus, the native country of Barnabas (A. iv. 36.), where soon after the martyrdom of Stephen the gospel had been preached to none but unto the Jews only, A. xi. 19.

5. And when they were at Salamis, they preached the word of God (first, as usual) in the synagogues of the Jews ; and they had also John surnamed Mark, sister's son to Barnabas, for their minister and attendant.

6. And when they had gone through the isle unto Paphos, they found a certain sorcerer, a false prophet, a Jew, whose name was Bar-jesus :

7. Which was with the proconsular governor of the country, Sergius Paulus, a man of good understanding ; who called for Barnabas and Saul, and desired to hear the word of God.

8. But Elymas the Sorcerer (for so is his name by interpretation) withstood them, seeking to turn away the governor from the faith.

9. Then Saul, who from this time took the Roman name of Paul after the proconsul, filled with the Holy Ghost, set his eyes on him,

10. And said, O full of all subtilty and all mischief, thou child of the devil, thou enemy of all righteousness, wilt thou not cease to pervert the right ways of the Lord?

ACTS xiii. 11. And now, behold, the hand of the Lord is upon thee, and thou shalt be blind, not seeing the sun for a season.

And immediately there fell on him a mist and a darkness; and he went about, seeking some to lead him by the hand.

12. Then the governor, when he saw what was thus miraculously done, instantly believed, being indeed astonished at the evidence of truth thus given to the gospel of the Lord Jesus Christ.

In this conversion of Sergius Paulus, we see the *first fruits of the heathen*, converted from the Gentile state to faith in the gospel without the intervention of his being first a proselyte to the law: he had been till now an idolatrous Gentile.

Cornelius, on the other hand, A. ix. 1, 2., was a proselyte in the first instance, and the earliest proselyte that became a convert to the gospel, excepting only the eunuch from Ethiopia, A. viii. 27.

Thus we see (and both, in the persons of Romans, a centurion, and a governor,) the two classes of gradation observed in dispensing the blessings of the gospel; when, A. xi. 18. "God to the Gentiles also granted repentance unto life." Cornelius was a proselyte, Sergius Paulus was an unproselyted heathen, when they were respectively converted.

A. xiii. 13. Now when Paul and his company had set sail from Paphos in that island, they landed on the coast of Pamphylia and proceeded to Perga; and there John-Mark departing from them, returned to Jerusalem, to his maternal home, (xii. 12.) having apparently not

counted the cost of so distant and, it might be, so dangerous a journey, as this now seemed likely to prove.

ACTS xiii. 14. But when they departed from Perga, they came to Antioch in Pisidia, and went into the synagogue on the sabbath day, and sat down in the place set apart for strangers.

15. And after the reading of the law and the prophets, the rulers of the synagogue sent unto them, saying, Ye men and brethren, if ye have any word of exhortation for the people, say on.

16. Then Paul stood up, and beckoning with his hand, said, Men of Israel, and ye that fear God, (*i. e.* devout Gentiles, or proselytes,) give audience.

17. The God of this people of Israel chose our fathers, and exalted the people when they dwelt as strangers in the land of Egypt, and with an high arm brought he them out of it.

18. And about the time of forty years suffered he their manners in the wilderness.

19. And when he had destroyed seven nations in the land of Chanaan, he divided their land to them by lot.

20. And after that he gave to them judges, about the space of four hundred and fifty years, until Samuel the prophet.

21. And afterwards they desired a king: and God gave unto them Saul the son of Cis, a man of the tribe of Benjamin, by the space of forty years.

22. And when he had removed him, he raised up unto them David to be their king: to whom also he gave testimony, and said, I have found David the son of Jesse, a man after mine own heart, which shall fulfil all my will.

23. Of this man's seed hath God, according to his promise, raised unto Israel a Saviour, Jesus:

ACTS xiii. 24. When John had first preached, before his coming, the baptism of repentance to all the people of Israel.

25. And as John fulfilled his course, he said, Whom think ye that I am ? I am not he : but, behold, there cometh one after me, whose shoes of his feet I am not worthy to loose.

26. Men and brethren, children of the stock of Abraham, and whosoever among you fear God, (*i. e.* all ye devout Gentiles, now present,) to you is the word of this salvation sent.

27. For they that dwell at Jerusalem, and their rulers, because they knew him not, nor yet the voices of the prophets which are read every sabbath day, they have fulfilled them in condemning him.

28. And though they found no cause of death in him, yet desired they Pilate that he should be slain.

29. And when they had fulfilled all that was written of him, they took him down from the tree, and laid him in a sepulchre.

30. But God raised him from the dead :

31. And he was seen many days of them which came up with him from Galilee to Jerusalem, who are his witnesses unto the people.

32. And we declare unto you glad tidings, how that the promise which was made unto the fathers,

33. God hath fulfilled the same unto us their children, in that he hath raised up Jesus again ; as it is also written in the second psalm, Thou art my Son, this day have I begotten thee.

34. And as concerning that he raised him up from the dead, now no more to return to corruption, he said on this wise, I will give you the sure mercies of David.

35. Wherefore he saith also in another psalm, Thou shalt not suffer thine Holy One to see corruption.

ACTS xiii. 36. For David, after he had served his own generation by the will of God, fell on sleep, and was laid unto his fathers, and saw corruption :

37. But he, whom God raised again, saw no corruption.

38. Be it known unto you therefore, men and brethren, that through this man is preached unto you the forgiveness of sins :

39. And by him all that believe are justified from all things, from which ye could not be justified by the law of Moses.

40. Beware therefore, lest that come upon you, which is spoken of in the prophets ;

41. Behold, ye despisers, and wonder, and perish : for I work a work in your days, a work which ye shall in no wise believe, though a man declare it unto you.

42. And as they were going out of the synagogue (see NOTE), they (several of those present) besought the apostles, that these words might be preached to them the next sabbath.

43. Now when the congregation was broken up, many of the Jews and religious proselytes followed Paul and Barnabas :

— those names are now for the first time placed in that order —

who, speaking to them, persuaded them to hold fast the gracious offer of salvation which God had thus made.

44. And the next sabbath day came almost the whole city together to hear the word of God.

45. But when the Jews (the great body of them) saw the multitudes thus assembled, they were filled with envy, and spake against those things which were spoken by Paul, contradicting and blaspheming.

46. Then Paul and Barnabas waxed bold, and said, It was necessary that the word of God should in this

city first have been spoken to you, and so it hath been : but seeing ye put it from you, and judge yourselves unworthy of everlasting life, lo, we turn to the Gentiles.

— now meaning not proselytes only, but others generally, even idolatrous Gentiles : in that lay the great boldness now shown by the two apostles.

And here, at Antioch in Pisidia, let us contemplate, after the individual case of Sergius Paulus, xiii. 12., the first great harvest of the conversion of the heathens, without the intervening stage of their having been proselytes previously.

ACTS xiii. 47. For so hath the Lord commanded us, saying, I have set thee to be a light of the Gentiles, that thou shouldest be for salvation unto the ends of the earth.

48. And when the Gentiles heard this, they were glad, and glorified the word of the Lord : and as many as were ordained to eternal life believed.

49. And the word of the Lord was published, generally now, throughout all that region.

50. But the unbelieving Jews stirred up the devout women, especially those of rank amongst them (see NOTE), and the chief men of the city, and raised persecution against Paul and Barnabas, and expelled them out of their coasts.

51. But they shook off the dust of their feet against them, and came unto Iconium.

52. And the disciples whom they left in Antioch (of Pisidia) were filled with joy, and with the Holy Ghost : thus not only receiving present confirmation in the faith, but being endowed also with spiritual gifts for their support and farther illumination in it.

And here, from the high importance of the subject, be it again remarked, that the first Christian church, gathered (in part) from among the idolatrous Gentiles, was at Antioch in Pisidia.

Acts xiv. 1. And it came to pass in Iconium, whither they fled from the persecution at Antioch, that Paul and Barnabas went both together into the synagogue of the Jews, and so spake, that a great multitude both of the Jews and also of the Greek proselytes believed.

2. But the unbelieving Jews stirred up the Gentiles, and made their minds evil affected against the brethren.

3. A considerable time therefore abode they speaking boldly in the Lord, who gave testimony to the truth of his gracious gospel, and granted signs and wonders to be done by their hands.

4. But the multitude of the city was divided : and part held with the Jews, and part with the apostles.

5. And when there was an assault made (rather, a plan formed) both of the Gentiles, and also of the Jews with their rulers, to use them despitefully, and to stone them,

6. They were aware of it, and fled unto Lystra first, and afterwards (vv. 20, 1.) to Derbe, cities of Lycaonia, and unto the region that lieth round about.

7. And there — at Lystra — they preached the gospel.

At this very time, it appears from A. xvi. 1., Timothy, as well as Lois and Eunice, his grandmother and his

mother (2 TIM. i. 5.), must have been converted to the Christian faith, H. P. 182, 3., in the city of Lystra.

And here be it remarked, that from the nature of the case there can be no necessity to suppose Timothy more than fourteen years old when now converted : an age which, though far from absolutely required by the later dates on our scheme maintained for the two epistles addressed to him, will yet most happily agree with those texts which there allude to his youth, 1 TIM. iv. 12., ch. v. 1, 2., and 2 TIM. ii. 22. That extent of attainments at the age of fourteen which Josephus, it is well known, records of himself, affords probability enough to any such progress in sacred learning as may here be attributed to Timothy at that early age ; especially when we are told, 2 TIM. iii. 15., that the holy scriptures, of the Old Testament, were known to him from a child.

ACTS xiv. 8. And there sat a certain man at Lystra, impotent in his feet, being a cripple from his mother's womb, who never had walked :

9. The same man heard Paul speak : who steadfastly beholding him, and perceiving that he had faith to be healed,

10. Said with a loud voice, Stand upright on thy feet. And he leaped and walked.

11. And when the people saw what Paul had done, they lifted up their voices, saying in the speech of Lycaonia, The gods are come down to us in the likeness of men.

12. And they called Barnabas, Jupiter ; and Paul, Mercurius, because he was the chief speaker.

— by which order of the names (*i. e.* Barnabas and Paul), the next mention of them also, in v. 14. seems to be influenced.

ACTS xiv. 13. Then the priest of Jupiter, which was before their city, brought oxen and garlands unto the gates, and would have done sacrifice with the people.

14. Which when the apostles, Barnabas and Paul, heard of, they rent their clothes, and ran in among the people, crying out,

15. And saying, Sirs, why do ye these things? We also are men of like infirmities with you, and preach unto you that ye should turn from these vanities unto the living God, which made heaven, and earth, and the sea, and all things that are therein :

16. Who in times past suffered all nations to walk in their own ways.

17. Nevertheless he left not himself without witness, in that he did good, and gave us rain from heaven, and fruitful seasons, filling our hearts with food and gladness.

18. And with these sayings scarce restrained they the people, that they had not done sacrifice unto them.

19. And there came thither certain Jews from Antioch (in Pisidia) and from Iconium, who persuaded the people now in the other extreme, and, having stoned Paul, drew him out of the city, supposing he had been dead.

20. Howbeit, as the disciples (and among these perhaps the young and affectionate Timothy, 2 TIM. iii. 10, 11., H. P. 182, 3.) stood round about him, he rose up, restored at once by divine power to health, and came into the city (of Lystra): and the next day he departed with Barnabas to Derbe.

21. And when they had preached the gospel to that city, and had taught many,

— without any hindrance there, H. P. 182., probably aided by the influence of Gaius, himself then

converted, ROM. xvi. 23., ACTS xx. 4. ; vide GAIUS in the Index, —

they returned again even to Lystra now without fear, and to Iconium, and Antioch,

ACTS xiv. 22. Confirming the souls of the disciples (of Timothy among the rest), and exhorting them to continue in the faith, and that we must through much tribulation enter into the kingdom of God.

23. And when they had ordained elders for them in every church, and had prayed with fasting, they (the two apostles) commended them to the Lord, on whom they had fixed their belief.

24. And after they had thus passed throughout Pisidia, they came to Pamphylia.

25. And when they had preached the word in Perga, — which apparently they had not done, when they first passed through that place, A. xiii. 13, 14. — they went down into Attalia, that maritime city of Pamphylia, at which they must have landed on their way, A. xiii., from Paphos to Perga :

26. And thence sailed homeward again to Antioch in Syria, from whence they had been recommended to the grace of God for the great work which they had thus wonderfully fulfilled.

27. And when they were come to that city, and had gathered the church together, they rehearsed all that God had done by their hands, and how he had opened the door of faith unto the Gentiles also,

— as well those who were already proselytes to the law of Moses, as those who had been heathens entirely up to that time, or in one word, idolatrous Gentiles.

28. And there, at Antioch, the metropolis of Gentile Christianity, they abode long time with the disciples.

Thus ends the first apostolic progress of Paul and Barnabas.

PRIVATE JOURNEY OF PAUL AND BARNABAS WITH
TITUS, TO JERUSALEM.

During the long time (not less than three years) that Paul and Barnabas abode with the disciples at Antioch, it seems highly probable at least (H. P. 100, 101.), if not demonstrably true, for reasons which will be more fully assigned in another place (APPENDIX A), that they might go up to Jerusalem, and return to Antioch, at some interval before the journey (recorded in A. xv.) took place which produced the apostolic decree.

In that belief, and on the grounds alluded to, the following addition, from the Epistle to the Galatians, is here made to the sacred narrative of the Acts. But inasmuch as the passage in the original confessedly labours under some obscurity from the brevity as well as embarrassed style in which several facts of importance are crowded together; instead of presenting the text alone, and subjoining a comment to it, a free and comprehensive paraphrase is here exhibited, as at once better developing the meaning of the apostle.

GALAT. ii. 1...10.

1. Then fourteen years after my conversion, I went up again to Jerusalem with Barnabas, and took Titus also with me, a young man and a converted Gentile.

— Whatever knowledge of Titus in the first stage of his ministerial connection with Paul can be gained or reasonably inferred from the epistles, will be found elsewhere. *Vide* TITUS in the Index.

2. And I went up directed by especial revelation to announce to the brethren there the wider province of apostolic labour which we had recently undertaken; and with the view to secure their right understanding

in the matter, I communicated to them that gospel which in its immunity from the Jewish law (H. P. 101.) I preach among the Gentiles. But this communication was made privately (or separately) to them of high rank and repute, and not in a public assembly, for fear of any uproar arising, which might invalidate my past and frustrate my future preaching :

GAL. ii. 3. (but far from being so defeated, when it was afterwards vehemently urged as a point for concession, that Titus should be circumcised, I maintained on principle, and with success, his exemption, as being a Greek, from any such token of bondage.)

4. And the better to insure my great object of apostolical unanimity, I observed that precaution of private address ; necessary as it was on account of false brethren (Judaizing Christians) unawares intruding, who came in privily to spy out our liberty which we have in Christ Jesus, that they might bring us into bondage of the law :

5. To whom, when they made the attempt to gain their point, we gave place by subjection, no, not for an hour ; that the truth of the Gospel in its fulness and freedom might continue unimpaired with you and with all the Gentiles.

6. And even from those brethren, on the other hand, who had reputation and consequence in the church — whatsoever they were, it makes no matter to me : God accepteth no man's person—I gained nothing in the way of knowledge or of authority : those persons, I say, of high repute added nothing to me in either way. (See NOTE.)

7. But on the contrary indeed, having clearly seen, from the whole of my late career as an apostle, that the gospel of the uncircumcision was committed unto me, as the gospel of the circumcision was unto Peter ;

GAL. ii. 8. (For he that wrought effectually in Peter to the apostleship of the circumcision, the same was mighty in me towards the Gentiles :)

9. When James (surnamed the Less), Cephas (that is, Peter), and John, who were considered to be pillars of the church, all three being then present, had recognised the peculiar trust graciously committed to my care, they cordially gave to me and Barnabas the right hands of fellowship; that we should go unto the heathen generally, and they unto the circumcision as before.

10. Only they requested, that on our return to Antioch, and while occupied among the Gentiles, we should not forget the poor brethren at Jerusalem with their peculiar claims on our charity: the same thing also which I have since then been forward to do.

PETER REBUKED AT ANTIOCH.

The intercourse betwixt Antioch (the great city of the East) and Jerusalem appears to have been on all accounts very frequent; and as a matter therefore of no unusual occurrence, it is next mentioned by Paul, in writing to the Galatians, that Peter went down soon after this time to Antioch. Even yet the conviction of that apostle's mind was not settled with completeness and certainty as to the full and free admission of the Gentiles to the benefits of the Christian covenant. And in pursuance therefore of his argument, Paul continues the narrative thus :

GALAT. ii. 11...14.

11. But when not long after this conference of ours at Jerusalem (where I rather declared to the apostles

what I had done, than consulted even them on its being done rightly,) Peter came to Antioch, I withstood him to the face, because he was to be blamed.

GAL. ii. 12. For on his first arrival there, and before certain persons (Jewish believers), came with some message from James (or pretence of one, as A. xv. 1. 24.) about ceremonial conformity, Peter had never scrupled to eat with the converted Gentiles : but after those persons came, he withdrew again, and separated himself, fearing to displease those of the circumcision.

13. And the other believing Jews dissembled likewise with him ; insomuch that Barnabas also was carried away with their timidity and dissimulation.

14. But when I, the determined and authorised preacher of Gentile freedom, saw that they walked not uprightly according to the truth of the Gospel, I said unto Peter before them all, If thou being a Jew by birth canst yet live (as thou hast done lately) after the manner of Gentiles, in disregarding the distinction of meats, and not as do the Jews (H. P. 106.), who observe that distinction ; why wouldest thou now compel the Gentile brethren to live as do the Jews, or else, to please these zealots, withdraw thyself from their company ?

PUBLIC MISSION OF PAUL AND BARNABAS TO
JERUSALEM.

ACTS xv. 1. And yet, after all this, certain men which came down from Judea to Antioch, assuming authority on that account (though not in any way authorised, as it afterwards appears, v. 24.), set about to teach the brethren in their stricter way, and said, Except ye be circumcised after the manner of Moses, ye cannot be saved by the gospel.

ACTS xv. 2. When therefore Paul and Barnabas, taking just offence at this, had no small dissension and disputation with them, it was generally determined that Paul and Barnabas and certain others of them should go up to Jerusalem unto the apostles and elders about this question.

3. And being brought on their way by the church, they passed (that route by land being purposely taken) through Phœnicea, by Sidon and Tyre, and through Samaria, declaring the conversion of the Gentiles; and by those tidings now told in the full extent, they caused great joy unto all the brethren.

4. And when they were come to Jerusalem, they were received of the church and of the apostles and elders, and they declared all things which God had done by his blessing on their labours.

5. But here again, on their errand being publicly known, there rose up certain of the sect of the Pharisees who believed, saying that it was needful to circumcise the Gentile converts and command them to keep the law of Moses.

6. And the apostles and elders came together for to consider of this matter.

7. And when there had been much disputing, Peter rose up and said unto them, Men and brethren, ye know how that a good while ago God made choice among us, that the Gentiles (Cornelius, with his kinsmen and near friends, A. x.) by my mouth should hear the word of the gospel, and believe.

8. And God, which knoweth the hearts, bare them witness, giving to them the Holy Ghost, even as he did unto us;

9. And put no difference between us and them, purifying their hearts by faith.

10. Now therefore, why would you try the forbear-

ance of God, in putting a yoke upon the neck of the disciples, which neither our fathers nor we were able to bear?

ACTS xv. 11. But we believe, that through the free grace of the Lord Jesus Christ we shall be saved, even as they ; and not otherwise.

12. Then all the multitude kept silence, and gave audience to Barnabas and Paul, declaring what miracles and wonders God had wrought among the Gentiles by them.

— The work had now proceeded much farther than it had done with Peter ; Cornelius was a proselyte (A. x. 2.) when he was converted.

13. And after they had held their peace, James (surnamed the Less) answered, saying, Men and brethren, hearken unto me :

14. Simeon (*i. e.* Simon Peter) hath declared how God at the first (*i. e.* beginning with Cornelius) did visit the Gentiles, to take out of them a people for his name.

15. And to this agree the words of the prophets ; as it is written, (Amos ix. 11, 12.)

16. “ After this I will return, and will build again the tabernacle of David, which is fallen down ; and I will build again the ruins thereof, and I will set it up :

17. That the residue of men might seek after the Lord, and all the Gentiles, upon whom (as true worshippers) my name is called, saith the Lord, who doeth all these things.”

18. Known unto God are all his works (and evidently so, this calling of the Gentiles) from the beginning of the world.

19. Wherefore my sentence is, that we trouble not

with burdensome rites them which from among the Gentiles are now turned unto God :

ACTS xv. 20. But that we write unto them, that they abstain from pollutions of idols, *i. e.* from feasting on things offered in heathen sacrifice ; from fornication, as being now under the restraint of a purer morality ; and from things strangled, and from blood, that so the Jewish believers may without offence or scruple eat at the same table with them.

21. In those latter points conformity must be exacted ; for Moses of old time hath in every city them that preach him, being read in the synagogues every sabbath day.

22. Then pleased it the apostles and elders with the whole church, to choose men of their own company and send them (for additional authority) to Antioch with Paul and Barnabas ; namely, Judas surnamed Barsabas, and Silas, chief men among the brethren :

23. And they wrote letters by them after this manner ;

The apostles and elders and brethren send greeting unto the brethren which are of the Gentiles in Antioch and Syria and Cilicia :

— here be it remarked, that this apostolic decree was addressed, and would be delivered, in the first instance, to the Syrian and Cilician churches alone : but wherever Paul and Silas afterwards went either to confirm other churches, as at Derbe and Lystra, xvi. 1, 2., or to the work of new conversion, as in Phrygia and Galatia, v. 6., the provisions of the decree, having been once solemnly ratified, would naturally find a place in the course of their teaching, without any reference to the original dispute, or to the authority by which it was settled. —

ACTS xv. 24. Forasmuch as we have heard, that certain which went out from us have troubled you with words, unsettling your minds, saying, Ye must be circumcised, and keep the law: to whom we gave no such commandment:

25. It seemed good unto us, being assembled with one accord, to send chosen men unto you with our beloved Barnabas and Paul,

26. Men that have hazarded their lives for the name of our Lord Jesus Christ.

27. We have sent therefore Judas and Silas, who shall also tell you the same things by mouth.

28. For it hath seemed good to the Holy Ghost, and to us,

— that is, the inspiration of the Almighty directed the council —

to lay upon you no greater burden than these necessary things;

29. That ye abstain from meats offered to idols, and from blood, and from things strangled, and from the moral impurity of fornication: from which if ye keep yourselves, ye will do well. Fare ye well.

30. So, on the business being closed, when they were allowed to depart, they came (by Cæsarea probably and then by sea) to Antioch: and when they had gathered the multitude together, they delivered the epistle:

31. Which when the brethren there had read, they rejoiced for the consolation thus administered.

32. And Judas and Silas, being prophets also (gifted in sacred instruction) themselves, exhorted the brethren with many words, and confirmed them in the faith.

33. And after they (the two messengers) had tarried there a space, they had leave given from the

brethren to go in peace to those who had sent them on that mission.

ACTS xv. 34. Notwithstanding, it pleased Silas, in the prospect of greater usefulness, to abide there still.

35. Paul also and Barnabas continued in Antioch, teaching and preaching the word of the Lord, with many others also similarly engaged.

PART II.—*continued.*DEPARTURE FROM ANTIOCH ON THE SECOND
GREAT PROGRESS.

This second progress takes an extensive range, far and wide, before the return to Antioch with which it concludes.

From the home circuit of Syria and Cilicia, A. xv. 41., Paul with Silas passes on into Lycaonia again, xvi. 1...3., and now, having the young Timothy added to their party, Paul and Silas through Phrygia and Galatia proceed to Troas, v. 8. : from that place, where Luke the historian joins them, by divine admonition they cross the Hellespont, and so into Macedonia, vv. 9...12.

At Philippi, after much rude persecution suffered by Paul and Silas, the miraculous conversion of the gaoler lays the foundation of the most pure and lovely of all the apostolical churches ; to the close of ch. xvi.

Through Amphipolis and Apollonia, they come to Thessalonica, and from thence are driven by an uproar of the unbelieving Jews, xvii. 1...9. ; and from Berea (which has its peculiar praise) Paul is in like manner driven away, 10...14.

Paul arrives at Athens, is encountered by the philosophers, and delivers a remarkable discourse on Mars's Hill ; to the close of ch. xvii. He leaves Athens, and proceeds to Corinth, where he finds Aquila and Priscilla, lately from Rome, with whom he abides and works. A. xviii. Silas and Timothy come to him with good tidings, the one from Berea, the other from Thessalonica, vv. 1...5.

Ill received by the Jews, Paul turns unto the Gentiles, and, encouraged by a divine vision, preaches without fear : before Gallio, the governor, he is accused by the Jews, who are baffled in their wicked attempt, vv. 6 ...17.

After a long and successful stay at Corinth, on his voyage to the coast of Syria, the apostle, now on his voyage back, hastily visits Ephesus ; from Cesarea goes up to Jerusalem, and then returns for a season to Antioch, vv. 18...22.

ACTS xv. 36. And after certain days Paul said unto Barnabas, Let us go again and visit our brethren in every city where we have preached the word of the Lord, and see how they do.

— That alone was the limited object apparently of the journey now proposed.

37. And Barnabas determined to take with them John, whose surname was Mark.

— He was now at Antioch, probably having gone down from Jerusalem on the late occasion along with his kinsman Barnabas.

38. But Paul thought not good to take him with them, who departed from them from Pamphylia, (A. xiii. 13.) and went not with them to the work.

39. And the contention was so sharp between them, that they departed asunder one from the other.

— “ Acting, however, as wise and sincere men would act,” each devoting his best endeavours to the common cause, they set forward on separate routes of apostolic labour.

And so Barnabas took Mark, and sailed unto Cyprus, his own native country, A. iv. 36., and where on the

service of the gospel he had been Paul's companion before. A. xiii. 4.

The name of Barnabas no where occurs again in the Acts : in the Epistles he is repeatedly mentioned, always honourably and with respect. GAL. ii. 1. 9. 13. 1 COR. ix. 6.

From the latter passage we gather, that Barnabas, then engaged like Paul in the great Gentile mission, like him worked with his own hands for his maintenance; though he and Paul, while so employed, might well have claimed exemption from any such necessity.

The name of Mark-John appears afterwards, in the Christian service of Paul, COLOSS. iv. 10., PHILEMON, ver. 24., and more remarkably so, 2 TIM. iv. 11.

ACTS xv. 40. Paul, on the other hand, chose Silas for his associate; and departed from Antioch, being recommended by the brethren unto the gracious favour of God.

41. And he went first of all through Syria and Cilicia, confirming the churches.

— Those in Cilicia should seem to have been planted by Paul, ix. 30., on his return from Jerusalem to Tarsus.

xvi. 1. Then — in pursuance of the intention to revisit the churches, announced, A. xv. 36. — he came to Derbe and Lystra: and, behold, a certain disciple (already here mentioned, ch. xiii. between vv. 7 and 8.) named Timothy, was there in the latter city, eminent for his early piety, whom Paul himself had converted (1 TIM. i. 2.), the son of a certain woman Eunice, which was a Jewess and believed, along with her

mother Lois. The unfeigned faith of both of them is recorded by Paul, in that affectionate address, 2 TIM. i. 5.

But his father was a Greek by birth, not improbably, however, first a proselyte, and now a believer with the rest of his family.

ACTS xvi. 2. Which Timothy, then a mere youth, perhaps in his eighteenth year, was well reported of by the Christian brethren, not only at Lystra, but at Iconium also.

3. From seeing this young man therefore qualified and disposed, as a son with the father, to serve with him ministerially in the gospel (PHILIP. ii. 22.) him would Paul have to go forth with him : but duely aware that, as a Gentile, Timothy would not be allowed for that purpose to bear him company into the synagogues, while from his mother being a Jewess, he might properly be circumcised, Paul took and circumcised him, as well on that account and with that view, as especially because of the Jews which were in those quarters ; for they knew all that his father was a Greek, and might else have reported Timothy as an uncircumcised Gentile.

4. But as the Mosaic law with its ceremonial obligations is here naturally called to mind, it should be told also, that as Paul and Silas went through the cities of Syria and Cilicia (xv. 41.) they did not fail to deliver to them the decrees for to keep which were ordained expressly on their account (xv. 23.) by the apostles and elders at Jerusalem, H. P. 104.

5. And so, being relieved from that troublesome question, those churches were established in the faith, and increased in number daily.

6. Now, therefore, when in their farther progress —

far beyond the first purpose, xv. 36. — Paul (attended by Timothy) and Silas had gone throughout Phrygia and the region of Galatia, —

— GALATIA now visited for the *first* time —

and were forbidden of the Holy Ghost as yet to preach the word in Asia (*i. e.* Lydian Asia, of which Ephesus was the capital, H. P: 37.)

ACTS xvi. 7. After they were come to Mysia, they assayed to go into Bithynia: but the Spirit suffered them not. (The cultivation of that vineyard was reserved for others, 1 PETER i. 1.)

8. And they passing by the northern borders of Mysia came down to Troas.

— A place, be it remarked, much more connected with the propagation of the Christian faith than might at first be supposed. Besides the beginning now made there, Paul visited Troas at three several times afterwards, 2 COR. ii. 12., ACTS xx. 5, 6., 2 TIM. iv. 13. *Vide* TROAS in the Index.

Here let the reader pause; and with solemn gratitude contemplate the apostolic transmission of the gospel now for the first time from the east to the west; into the regions of Europe — “to Tubal and Javan and the isles afar off,” as prophesied by ISAIAH lxvi. 19. — and across that boundary which, according to the father of history, formed the grand division between Europe and the Grecian name on the one hand and all the Asiatic nations on the other. *Herodotus, Clio*, s. 4.

In this place also, be it remarked, the historian of the Acts comes forward in his own person. Luke, probably, from all accounts, was a native of Antioch: and if so, since he appears to have been a convert when Paul now

found him sojourning at Troas, we may suppose him to have been previously converted at Antioch by Barnabas or Paul on some of those occasions, A. xi. 22...30., xii. 25., xiii. 1...3., xiv. 26...28., which he himself has so particularly related.

And may not the **WE** (which follows here in v. 10.) coming in so naturally, be taken for an oblique intimation that Paul and Luke had been acquainted with one another some time before; and if so, much more likely at Antioch than at any other place?

ACTS xvi. 9. And a vision appeared to Paul in the night; There stood a man of Macedonia, and prayed him, saying, Come over into Macedonia, and help us, — on whom your labour in the Lord will not be lost.

On the subject of *divine visions*, vide H. P. 217, 8. and consult the following passages, A. xviii. 9, 10., xxii. 17., xxiii. 11., xxvii. 23. For the early promise of future revelation also to be in that way conveyed, vide xxvi. 16. At xviii. 9, 10. occasion will arise for some particular remarks in the Appendix C.

10. And after Paul had seen the vision, immediately **WE** endeavoured (for Luke joined his company at Troas) to go into Macedonia forthwith, assuredly gathering, that the Lord had called us for to preach the gospel unto them in that country.

Yes: Luke also was now called to preach that gospel, of which he was afterwards by Divine Providence ordained to become the historian.

ACTS xvi. 11. Therefore loosing from Troas, WE came with a straight course to Samothracia, and the next day to Neapolis ;

12. And from thence to Philippi, which is the chief city of that part of Macedonia, and a colony : and WE were in that city abiding a few days.

13. And on the sabbath WE went out of the city by a river side where prayer was wont to be made, (there being no synagogue in that city;) and WE sat down and spake unto the devout women which resorted thither.

14. And one of them in particular, a certain woman named Lydia, a seller of purple, of the city of Thyatira, which (as a proselyte) worshipped the true God, listened to us ; whose heart the Lord opened, that she attended to the things which were spoken by Paul.

15. And after she was baptized, and her household, she besought us, saying, If ye have judged me to be faithful to the Lord, come into my house, and abide there. And she constrained us to do so.

16. And it came to pass, as WE went to the place of prayer, a certain damsel possessed with the spirit of divination met us, which brought her masters much gain by soothsaying :

17. The same followed Paul and us, and cried, saying, These men are the servants of the most High God, which shew unto us the way of salvation.

18. And this she did many days. But Paul, being grieved, turned and said to the spirit, I command thee in the name of Jesus Christ to come out of her. And he came out the same hour.

19. And when her masters saw that the hope of their gains was gone, they caught Paul and Silas, as the leaders of our party, and drew them into the marketplace unto the rulers,

ACTS xvi. 20. And brought them to the magistrates, saying, These men, being Jews, do exceedingly trouble our city,

21. And teach customs, which are not lawful for us to receive, neither to observe, being Romans, *i. e.* originally colonists from Italy. (More of this, on the Epistle to the Philippians.)

22. And the multitude rose up together against them : and the magistrates rent off their clothes, and commanded to beat them with rods.

23. And when they had laid many stripes upon them, they cast them into prison, charging the jailor to keep them safely :

24. Who, having received such a charge, thrust them into the inner prison, and made their feet fast in the stocks.

25. And at midnight Paul and Silas prayed, and sang praises unto God ; and the prisoners (in the other wards) listened to them.

26. And suddenly there was a great earthquake, so that the foundations of the prison were shaken : and immediately all the doors were opened, and every one's bands were loosed.

27. And the keeper of the prison awaking out of his sleep, and seeing the prison doors open, he drew out his sword, and would have killed himself, supposing that the prisoners had been fled.

28. But Paul cried with a loud voice, saying, Do thyself no harm : for we are all here.

29. Then the jailor called for a light, and sprang in, and came trembling, and fell down before Paul and Silas,

30. And brought them out and said, Sirs, what must I do to be saved ?

Acts xvi. 31. And they said, Believe on the Lord Jesus Christ, and thou shalt be saved, and thy household.

32. And they spake unto him the word of the Lord, and to all that were in his house.

33. And he took them the same hour of the night, and washed their stripes; and was baptized, he and all his, straightway.

34. And when he had brought them into his house, he set meat before them, and rejoiced, believing in God with all his household,

35. And when it was day, the magistrates — either from a misgiving that they had acted with unjust severity, or being already informed of the amazing events which had taken place in the prison — sent the serjeants, saying, Let those men go.

36. And the keeper of the prison told this saying to Paul, The magistrates have sent to let you go: now therefore depart, and go in peace.

37. But Paul said unto them, They have beaten us openly uncondemned, being Romans (*i. e.* Roman citizens), and have cast us into prison: and now would they thrust us out privily? Nay verily; but let them come themselves, and fetch us out.

38. And the serjeants told these words unto the magistrates; and they feared when they heard that they (Silas as well as Paul) were Roman citizens.

39. And the magistrates came and besought them, and brought them out, and desired them to depart out of the city, — to prevent farther tumult.

40. And they went out of the prison, and entered into the house of Lydia: and when they had seen the brethren (who could not then be very numerous), they comforted them, and departed from Philippi.

And here it may deserve remark, as the narrative after this proceeds in the third person, **THEY**, and not **WE**, that Luke must now have remained at Philippi : accordingly, A. xx. 5., he is found there again, then and not before re-appearing in his own person. This will not seem extraordinary, if we consider, that as Luke had already taken some part in the work of teaching there, A. xvi. 13., he might very properly be left behind, on purpose to give farther instruction to the Philippians in the truths of the gospel. Then, too, Luke the Gentile (H. P. 148, 9.) would of course be the more acceptable to the brethren there, who were all Gentile converts : while, on the other hand, if he *was* a Gentile, as we suppose, then not being qualified for admission into the Jewish synagogues, he could not on this account have gone with Paul as his privileged attendant. That, we have seen, was hereafter to be the proper office of Timothy.

That from his residence at Troas where Paul found him, (A. xvi. 10.) a place commercially connected with Philippi, he who is elsewhere called “the beloved physician,” (COLLOSS. iv. 14.) might have become previously known to the Philippians in that character ; may be forgiven at least as an innocent conjecture.

ACTS xvii. 1. Now when they (Paul, Silas, and Timothy) had passed through Amphipolis and Apollonia without stopping in either place, they came to Thessalonica, where was the synagogue of the Jews :

— the synagogue which they expected to find, there being none in the other two cities.

2. And Paul, in the first instance, as his manner was, (A. xiii. 46., H. P. 158.) went in unto them, and three sabbath days reasoned with them out of the scriptures,

ACTS xvii. 3. Opening and alledging, that Christ (*i. e.* the expected Messiah) ought (according to the prophecies) to have suffered and risen again from the dead ; and that this Jesus, whom I preach unto you, is that Messiah.

4. And some of them (the Jews) believed and consorted with Paul and Silas ; and of the devout Greeks (or proselytes) a great multitude, and of the chief women not a few, (being proselytes, as elsewhere, A. xiii. 50., xvii. 12.)

Upon the whole, Paul must have continued at Thessalonica more than three weeks, the time apparently given by the sacred historian. “ For though he resorted to the synagogue only three sabbath days, yet he remained in the city and in the exercise of his ministry among the Gentile citizens much longer ; and until the success of his preaching had provoked the Jews to excite the tumult and insurrection by which he was driven away.” H. P. 158.

On another ground the apostle’s longer stay in Thessalonica may fairly be established. What we read elsewhere of liberality from Philippi sent to him “ once and again” (PHILIP. iv. 16.) while in that city, would evidently require a greater space of time for its accomplishment ; not to mention that during his continuance in Thessalonica (1 THESS. ii. 9.) he “ laboured night and day,” that to the believers there he might not be chargeable, a consideration which alone would clearly justify the same inference. — *Vide* Dr. Benson’s *History of the first planting of the Christian Religion*, &c., vol. ii. p. 99.

A. xvii. 5. But the Jews which believed not, moved

with envy, took unto them certain worthless fellows of the baser sort, and gathered a company, and set all the city on an uproar, and assaulted the house of Jason, in which Paul and his companions were entertained, and sought to bring them out to the people.

ACTS xvii. 6. And when they found them not then in the house, they drew Jason and certain brethren unto the rulers of the city, crying, These men that have turned the world upside down, are come hither also ;

7. Whom Jason hath entertained : and these all act contrary to the decrees of Cesar, saying that there is another king, one Jesus.

8. And the unbelieving Jews alarmed the people and the rulers of the city, when they heard these things.

9. And when the rulers had taken security of Jason and of the others, they let them go.

— Of Jason, as afterwards the companion of Paul at Corinth, Rom. xvi. 21., *vide* H. P. 16. note.

10. And the brethren immediately sent away Paul and Silas by night unto Berea : who on coming thither, according to their custom, went into the synagogue of the Jews.

11. These Jews were more noble, than those in Thessalonica, in that they received the word with all readiness of mind, and searched the scriptures daily, to see whether those things (the predictions of the Messiah as fulfilled in Jesus) were so or not.

12. Therefore, being convinced by that search, many of them believed ; also of honourable women, which were Greeks, and of men, not a few.

13. But when the Jews of Thessalonica had knowledge that the word of God was preached of Paul at Berea, they came thither, and stirred up the people.

Acts xvii. 14. And then immediately the brethren sent away Paul to the sea-coast, to take shipping there (see the NOTE): but Silas and Timothy abode still at Berea.

15. And they that conducted Paul by sea, brought him unto Athens: and receiving a commandment unto Silas and Timothy for to come to him with all speed, they departed.

PAUL AT ATHENS.

Singularly enough, the apostle is not represented in the following narrative as originally purposing to preach the tidings of salvation to "the wise men and disputers of this world" (1 Cor. i. 20.) at Athens; which, be it remembered, had long ceased to rank high either in a political or a commercial light, retaining only its philosophical celebrity.

Paul had only intended to stop in that city, till his two companions overtook him from Berea: observe, then, how justly in the result he appears to have estimated the unfitness of those proud Greeks who "sought after wisdom," to receive the doctrine of a pure theism with which he so beautifully began his discourse, much less to admit the humiliating and stirring truths of the gospel.

A. xvii. 16. Now while Paul waited for Silas and Timothy at Athens, his spirit was provoked within him, when he saw the city wholly given to idolatry.

17. Therefore disputed he in the synagogue with the Jews and with the devout persons (*i. e.* proselytes) and in the public square daily with them (any of the Athenians) that came in his way.

ACTS xvii. 18. Then certain philosophers of the Epicureans, and of the Stoicks, encountered him. And some said, What would this babbler say? Other some, He seemeth to be a setter forth of strange deities: because he preached unto them Jesus, and the resurrection.

19. And they took him, and brought him unto Areopagus, saying, May we know what this new doctrine, whereof thou speakest, is?

20. For thou bringest certain strange things to our ears: we would know therefore what these things mean.

21. (For all the Athenians and strangers which were there, spent their time in nothing else, but either to tell or to hear some new thing.)

22. Then Paul stood in the midst of Mars' hill (where the court of Areopagus was held) and said, Ye men of Athens, I perceive that in all things ye are very much given to religious observances.

23. For as I passed by, and surveyed the objects of your devotion, I found an altar with this inscription, TO THE UNKNOWN GOD. Whom therefore ye ignorantly worship, him declare I unto you.

24. God that made the world and all things therein, seeing that he is Lord of heaven and earth, dwelleth not in temples made with hands;

25. Neither is worshipped with men's hands, as though he needed any thing, seeing he giveth to all life, and breath, and all things;

26. And hath made of one blood all nations of men for to dwell on all the face of the earth, and hath determined the times before appointed, and the bounds of their habitation;

27. That they should seek the Lord, if haply they

might feel after him, and find him, though he be not far from every one of us :

ACTS xvii. 28. For in him we live, and move, and have our being ; as certain also of your own poets have said, For we are also his offspring.

29. Forasmuch then as we are the offspring of God, we ought not to think that the Godhead is like unto gold, or silver, or stone, graven by art and man's device.

30. And the times of this ignorance God winked at ; but now commandeth all men every where to repent :

31. Because he hath appointed a day in the which he will judge the world in righteousness by that man whom he hath ordained ; whereof he hath given assurance unto all men, in that he hath raised him from the dead.

32. And when they heard of the resurrection of the dead, some mocked, and others said, We will hear thee again of this matter.

33. So Paul departed from among them.

34. Howbeit certain men (though not many) clave unto him, and believed : among the which was Dionysius the Areopagite, and a woman named Damaris, and others with them.

Though Paul left Berea in such haste that Silas and Timothy could not go along with him, yet he sent orders back, that they should follow him with all speed. Accordingly, Timothy came up to the apostle while he was yet at Athens : but Silas, it seems, in the work of an evangelist, thought good to tarry some time longer at Berea. Paul, in the mean while, from his anxiety for the young and persecuted converts at Thessalonica, had

entertained serious thoughts of turning back to revisit them : but having been “ hindered once and again,” he chose rather when joined at Athens by Timothy (hitherto only the personal attendant of Paul) to be left alone there without his beloved society, and to send him instead, on that his first sacred mission, to establish and comfort the Thessalonian church.

The different circumstances, first of the delay of Silas and Timothy, and then of their subsequent arrival (probably together) from Macedonia at Corinth (A. xviii. 5.) may at once from these particulars, chiefly supplied by the apostle himself, (1 THESS. ii. 18., iii. 1, 2. 5, 6.) be very readily understood. *Vide* Dr. Benson, vol. ii. pp. 112. 117., and H. P. 154, 5.

PAUL AT CORINTH, the *first* time :
his different reception in that city.

ACTS xviii. 1. After these things Paul departed from Athens, and came to Corinth ;

2. And found a certain Jew named Aquila, born in Pontus, lately come from Italy, with his wife Priscilla ; (because that Claudius had commanded all Jews to depart from Rome :) and came unto them.

3. And because he was of the same craft, he abode with them, and wrought : for by their occupation they were tent-makers.

4. And he reasoned in the synagogue every sabbath, and persuaded the Jews and the Greeks whom he found there.

At this period of the history, that is, very soon after the arrival of Paul at Corinth, and therefore at a

date not long subsequent to his first visiting Galatia, (A. xvi. 6.) we may most probably fix

the EPISTLE to the GALATIANS,

occasioned by intelligence regarding them which had reached him at Corinth: and that epistle belongs to an early period of his apostolic authority, or he would not argue so very earnestly to establish it. He goes very much therefore into the principal events of his own personal history, (GAL. i. 11...24. ii. 1...14.) and powerfully demonstrates, that he was not a missionary from the church at Jerusalem, nor yet a disciple of the first apostles, but an immediate apostle of Christ himself by a divine revelation.

In farther support of this opinion, that the Epistle to the Galatians was one of the very earliest date, some strong considerations will be found in another place. *Vide* Appendix B.

ACTS xviii. 5. And when Silas and Timothy were come from Macedonia with good tidings, the one from Berea, the other from Thessalonica, Paul was strongly affected by their report (see the NOTE); and with the greater confidence now (aided by Silas and Timothy in that preaching, 2 COR. i. 19.) testified to the Jews, that Jesus was Christ, the Messiah.

6. And when they opposed themselves, and blasphemed, Paul shook his raiment, and said unto them,—

“in the severity of grief, not of anger,”—

Your blood be upon your own heads; I am clean: from henceforth I will go unto the Gentiles.

— Compare with this, ch. xiii. 46.

7. And he departed thence, from the synagogue

where he had hitherto taught, and entered into a certain man's house, named Justus, one that worshipped God (a Gentile convert), whose house joined hard to the synagogue.

ACTS xviii. 8. And Crispus, the chief ruler of the synagogue, believed on the Lord with all his household ; and many of the other Corinthians hearing believed, and were baptized.

Here it may deserve remark, that Paul afterwards, on referring to the unhappy contentions at Corinth subsequent to this his sojourn there, rejoices to think, that while now among them he had generally abstained from baptizing with his own hands.

1 Cor. i. 12. Every one of you saith, I am of Paul, and I of Apollos, and I of Cephas, and I of Christ.

13. Is Christ divided? was Paul crucified for you? or were ye baptized in the name of Paul?

14. I thank God that I baptized none of you but Crispus (the ruler recently mentioned, A. xviii. 8.) and Gaius (who appears to have followed him from Derbe);

15. Lest any should say that I had baptized in mine own name.

17. For Christ sent me not to baptize, but to preach the gospel.

Another remark here naturally occurs. If Paul himself in writing to the Corinthians afterwards speaks thus of his feelings at this critical time,

“I was with you in weakness and in fear and in much trembling,” 1 Cor. ii. 3.

we may well suppose miraculous encouragement to have

been the more necessary, for him to encounter so arduous a trial : the assurance of strength from above was graciously given to him. (On the subject of this vision and of the *thorn* in the *flesh*, as connected with it, *vide* Appendix C.)

ACTS xviii. 9. Then spake the Lord to Paul in the night by a vision, Be not afraid, but speak, and hold not thy peace :

10. For I am with thee, and no man shall set on thee to hurt thee : for I have much people in this city.

11. And he continued there a year and six months, teaching the word of God, now without fear, among them.

During this stay of Paul at Corinth,

the two EPISTLES to the THESSALONIANS

were written, at the interval of some months at least betwixt the one and the other. It is shown, in H. P. 152, 3. that between the First Epistle and the history of the Acts the accordance in many points is circumstantial and complete : and we have already from that Epistle, ii. 18., iii. 1, 2., derived clear information as to some important facts in regard to Silas and Timothy, necessary to supply at the close of ACTS xvii. what otherwise must have been conjectured in vain.

The Second Epistle seems to have been occasioned by some misapprehension of a passage in the First, which had come to the apostle's knowledge in the mean while : and the best illustration perhaps which the acknowledged obscurity of that subject admits, will be found in H. P. 160, 1. 163, 4, 5.

Both the Epistles, by the names of Silas and Timothy in the superscription, show, that those faithful

companions were present with Paul at the time. And the First especially, it is remarked H. P. 153., speaks of their ministry at Thessalonica as a recent transaction. 1 THESS. ii. 17. "We, brethren, being taken from you for a short time in presence, not in heart, endeavoured the more abundantly to see your face with great desire."

ACTS xviii. 12. And when Gallio was the deputy of Achaia, and therefore residing in Corinth, the Jews made insurrection with one accord against Paul, and brought him to the judgment-seat,

13. Saying, This fellow persuadeth men to worship God contrary to the law.

14. And when Paul was now about to open his mouth, Gallio said unto the Jews, If it were a matter of wrong or wicked mischief, O ye Jews, reason would that I should bear with you :

15. But if it be a question of words and names, and of your law, look ye to it ; for I will be no judge of such matters.

16. And he drave them, the Jews, from the judgment-seat.

17. Then all the Greeks took Sosthenes, the chief ruler of the synagogue, and beat him before the judgment-seat. And Gallio cared for none of these things.

At this time Sosthenes, as the new ruler of the synagogue (and therefore clearly not now a Christian), taking the lead in the prosecution of Paul, might for that very cause, especially when the proconsul with indignation drave the Jewish accusers away, excite momentary anger in the Corinthian populace, and thus be

subjected to that expression of their violence which Gallio did not think it worth his while to condemn.

Supposing these to have been the first circumstances (certainly inauspicious enough) which are known about Sosthenes, still, during the "yet a good while," v. 18. that Paul after this tarried at Corinth, what should hinder this Sosthenes also (like Crispus before him, v. 8.) from becoming a convert to the gospel? Or why might he not be one of those Jews converted by the sacred eloquence of Apollos, xviii. 28., after Paul's departure from that city? And if this might easily be so, then only let the frequent intercourse between Corinth and Ephesus be considered, and the appearance of his name at a later period in the superscription from Ephesus to the Corinthians, 1 Cor. i. 1., will be thought any thing but extraordinary; nor would Paul himself with the less tender and earnest sympathy call Sosthenes "brother," because he also had been (in spirit) a persecutor first.

Acts xviii. 18. And Paul after this (so completely did the sentence of Gallio protect him) tarried there without annoyance yet a good while, having been indebted during part of that time to the brethren which came from Macedonia (*i. e.* from Philippi) for liberal contributions to his support. 2 Cor. xi. 8, 9. H. P. 136, 7.

He then on departing from Corinth took his leave there of the brethren in the Christian faith; and was attended not only by Silas and Timothy, but also by Erastus, a Corinthian, as appears from xix. 22., and by "Gaius and Aristarchus, men of Macedonia, Paul's companions in travel," mentioned like Erastus during

his stay in Ephesus, xix. 29., in the course of his third progress.

On his main voyage to the coast of Syria, that after going up to Jerusalem he might return to Antioch, he now set sail, in the usual course of navigation bound for Ephesus, which he was then to visit hastily for the first time.

It was from Cenchreæ, the eastern port of Corinth, that he sailed, accompanied by Aquila and Priscilla, after having shorn his head there, in pursuance of a vow which he had to fulfil.

At EPHESUS, the *first* time, but only on his passage.

ACTS xviii. 19. So when he came to Ephesus, where he was prepared to leave his two friends behind, he himself, limited in the time of his stay, took the first opportunity to enter into the synagogue, and to reason with the Jews, whom he found there.

20. When those Jews, with a welcome which he did not always receive, desired him to tarry longer, he could not consent to do so ;

21. But bade them farewell, saying, I must by all means keep this feast (probably, the passover) that cometh, in Jerusalem : but I will return (as indeed he did, xix. 1.) again unto you, if God will. And so he sailed from Ephesus.

22. And when after a good voyage he had landed at Cesarea, and gone up, that is, to Jerusalem, and saluted the church of believers there ; after no longer a stay than the feast required, he went (by sea, as usual, and from Cesarea,) down to Antioch, and thus concluded his second great apostolic progress.

On the occasion of Paul's second progress thus terminating, what became of his associate Silas, last mentioned A. xviii. 5. along with Timothy? It is a question by no means void of interest, but better suited for discussion in another place. (*Vide* SILAS in the Index.) Suffice it here to say, that Silas must now have staid behind at Jerusalem; whereas Timothy, beyond a doubt, went along with the apostle, and appears again (A. xix. 22.), being named there along with Erastus.

PART II.—*continued.*

THIRD APOSTOLIC PROGRESS.

This third progress of the apostle from Antioch

begins with revisiting the churches of Galatia and Phrygia, A. xviii. 23.

And after introducing Apollos as having first been at Ephesus, and now occupied as a Christian teacher at Corinth, vv. 24 . . . 28.

carries the apostle himself to Ephesus, with the gifts of the Holy Ghost conferred and miracles of healing wrought by the hands of Paul, xix. 1 . . . 12.

Shows the Jewish exorcists put to shame, and the costly books of magic all burned, vv. 13 . . . 20.

and relates the riot in the theatre raised by Demetrius, the silversmith, on account of “Diana of the Ephesians.” v. 21. to the end.

Paul leaves that city prematurely, and proceeds, by Troas, into Macedonia, (A. xx. 1.) where he meets with Titus and Timothy, whom he had sent from Ephesus, as his ministers in connection with the church of Corinth.

After going over those parts, *i. e.* in the North-west, as far as Illyricum, he once more visits Corinth, v. 2. where that church was now well and happily disposed to receive him.

Instead of sailing directly back into Syria, to elude the Jews who laid wait for him, he changes his plan ; and himself returning through Macedonia, then, with his

companions, from Troas, where Eutychus is restored to life, he passes onward, vv. 3 . . . 12.

Invites the elders of the church of Ephesus to meet him at Miletus, and there, after a solemn charge, takes his affectionate farewell of them, v. 13. to the end.

Paul sails from Miletus by Coos, Rhodes, and Patara ; from thence to Tyre, where he stops with the disciples ; by Ptolemais he comes to Cesarea, and though warned there also as he had been at Tyre, and besought not to go up to Jerusalem, he determines to go, A. xxi. 1 . . . 14.

Arrives in that city, visits James and the elders ; in pursuance of their advice, and to pacify Jewish zealots, goes through the formal ceremony of purification ; is apprehended in the temple by Jews from Asia ; and thus abruptly closes his third apostolic progress, vv. 15 . . . 27.

DEPARTURE OF PAUL FROM ANTIOCH for the *third*, and as it proved, the last time.

On this occasion, Timothy and Erastus were certainly, as we have seen, companions to the apostle. Titus also (*vide* TITUS in the Index) must have been in the company.

ACTS xviii. 23. xix. 1. And after he had spent some time at Antioch, he departed once more to confirm the churches which he had before visited ; and went a second time over all the country of Galatia and Phrygia, in order, strengthening all the disciples.

GALATIA now visited for the *second* time.

During this visitation of Galatia, the apostle seems to have pursued with success that purpose of charity to

which their attention was first called in his epistle, on behalf of the necessitous brethren at Jerusalem, GAL. ii. 10. "Only they would that we should remember the poor, the same which I also was (*have been*) forward to do." For not long after this second visitation, in writing from Ephesus to the Corinthians, he speaks thus, 1 Cor. xvi. 1, 2.: "Now concerning the collection for the saints, as I have (lately) given order to the churches of Galatia, even so do ye. Upon the first day of the week, let every one of you lay by him in store, as God hath prospered him, that there be no gathering when I come."

The order thus given to the churches in that country, if part of a *recent* transaction (as our arrangement makes it), was the more likely to be remembered by him and recommended as a plan to the adoption of the Corinthians; who from this text alone should appear to have been well acquainted with the interest taken by Paul in his Galatian converts.

ACTS xviii. From v. 24. to the end of this chapter, digression takes place, to introduce into the apostolic history the name of

APOLLOS,

a person on many accounts highly remarkable, especially as having gone to Corinth not long after Paul's departure (xviii. 18.) from that city, and having, by his bold eloquence probably, given rise to a party at Corinth (1 Cor. i. 22. iii. 4.) which in the event was much lamented by himself. *Vide* Appendix D. s. 1.

A. xviii. 24. And a certain Jew named Apollos, born at Alexandria, an eloquent man, and mighty in

the scriptures, some time before this had come to Ephesus.

Acts xviii. 25. This man was instructed in the way of the Lord ; and being fervent in spirit, he spake and taught diligently the things of the Lord, knowing as yet only the baptism of John.

26. And he began to speak boldly in the synagogue ; whom when Aquila and Priscilla (v. 19.) had heard, they took him unto them, and expounded unto him the way of God (the whole Christian scheme) more completely, than he had known it before.

27. And when he was disposed to pass into Achaia, that is, to Corinth, the brethren (perhaps only Aquila and Priscilla) wrote, exhorting the disciples there to receive him : who, when he was come, contributed much to the benefit of those who had already believed through grace ;

28. For he mightily convinced the Jews, and that publicly, showing by the scriptures that Jesus was Christ, the Messiah.

A. xix. 1. And it came to pass, that, while Apollos was thus occupied at Corinth (having left Ephesus, xviii. 27.) PAUL having (as already told, xviii. 23.) passed through the upper coasts of Galatia and Phrygia, came

to EPHEBUS the *second* time, and for a longer stay, according to his own promise solemnly given, A. xviii. 21.

At Ephesus (as appears by the salutation, 1 Cor. xvi. 19., from them) he found Aquila and Priscilla still residing. Whether as at Corinth (A. xviii. 3.) they and he now wrought together as being of the same craft, does not appear. They might be under no such necessity now, as when they fled from Romé, on that

sudden emergency: but to his own labours in maintaining himself and others with him at Ephesus, Paul distinctly appeals when afterwards at Miletus addressing the elders from that city, A. xx. 34.

From what follows, it might appear, that during the interval betwixt Paul's first and second visit to Ephesus, whatever Aquila and Priscilla had taught to Apollos privately, they had not taken upon them publickly to declare the whole truths of the gospel.

ACTS xix. 1. And Paul finding certain disciples on his arrival in that city, in the same situation apparently that Apollos had been,

2. He said unto them, Have ye received the Holy Ghost since ye believed? And they said unto him, We have not so much as heard, whether any gifts of the Holy Ghost be imparted to believers.

3. And he said unto them, Unto what then were ye baptized? And they said, Unto John's baptism.

4. Then said Paul, John verily baptized with the baptism of repentance, saying unto the people, that they should believe on him which should come after him, that is, on Jesus as the Messiah.

5. When they heard this, they were baptized in the name of the Lord Jesus.

6. And when Paul had laid his hands upon them, the Holy Ghost came on them; and they spake with tongues, and prophesied.

7. And all the men, miraculously so gifted, were about twelve.

ACTS xix. 8. And after this Paul went into the synagogue, and spake boldly for the space of three months, disputing and persuading the things concerning the kingdom of God.

9. But when divers of the Jews were hardened and believed not, but spake evil of that way (the doctrine of Jesus as the Messiah) in the synagogue before the multitude there, he departed from them, and separated the disciples, disputing daily in the school of one Tyrannus.

10. And this practice of daily teaching continued by the space of two years ; so that all they which dwelt in Asia (Ephesus and the region round it) heard the word of the Lord Jesus, both Jews and Greeks, that is, Jewish and Gentile converts.

Vide the NOTE on A. xi. 20.

11. And God wrought special miracles by the hands of Paul :

12. So that from his body were brought unto the sick handkerchiefs or aprons, and the diseases departed from them, and the evil spirits went out of them.

13. Then certain of the vagabond Jews, exorcists, took upon them to call over them which had evil spirits the name of the Lord Jesus,

—for an efficacy which they could not else command—saying, We adjure you by Jesus whom Paul preacheth.

14. And there were seven sons of one Sceva, a Jew, and chief of the priests, which did so.

15. And the evil spirit answered and said, Jesus I know, and Paul I know ; but who are ye ?

16. And the man in whom the evil spirit was, leaped on them, and overcame them, and prevailed against them, so that they fled out of that house naked and wounded.

ACTS xix. 17. And when this became known to all the Jews and Greeks also (as in v. 10.) dwelling in Ephesus ; an awful fear fell on them all, and the name of the Lord Jesus was magnified.

18. And many that believed came, and confessed, and shewed their deeds.

19. Many of them also which used curious arts brought their books together, and burned them before all men : and they counted the price of them, and found it fifty thousand pieces of silver.

20. So mightily grew the word of God and prevailed.

A much fuller statement of the labours of Paul in this city from his own mouth is recorded by the historian, in that affecting speech (A. xx. 18...35.) delivered at Miletus to the elders of Ephesus.

It was during this residence at Ephesus that the apostle wrote

the *First* EPISTLE to the CORINTHIANS,

in answer to a public letter sent from the church at Corinth by the hands of certain brethren, Stephanas, Fortunatus, Achaicus, and others, 1 Cor. xvi. 17. Of the peculiar subjects on which Paul was now consulted, the reader may be referred to a brief but very clear account, in H. P. 33...36.

This Epistle, it is important to remark, was certainly written, before the great riot happened, inasmuch as the apostle intimates (1 Cor. xvi. 8.) his design to tarry at Ephesus some time longer, so that his "fighting with beasts," (xv. 32.) whatever else it means, can have no reference to that scene of danger.

And without letting the Corinthians know his intention, it was written, after he had determined to postpone his visit to Corinth for the present, H. P. 62, 3., and when he had concerted other measures in accordance with that design. Apparently indeed (*vide* H. P. 40.) he had even sent off Timothy and Erastus (A. xix. 22.) into Macedonia before the Epistle was written, 1 COR. iv. 17. xvi. 10.; as in all probability soon after it was despatched, he sent off Titus (with "the brother") on his first mission to Corinth, 2 COR. xii. 17, 18.

On the occasion of his writing the *Second* Epistle, a full developement of these interesting facts, entirely omitted by Luke, in A. xx. 1, 2., but supplied from the Epistles themselves, it shall be my endeavour to give; to illustrate the personal history of Paul, in these his various concerns of correspondence with the church of Corinth by his ministers Titus and Timothy.

ACTS xix. 21. After these things were ended, Paul purposed in the spirit, first to pass through Macedonia (Philippi, &c.) and Achaia (Corinth and Cenchreæ) again, and then to go to Jerusalem, saying, After I have been there, I must also see Rome.

22. So he sent into Macedonia, to forward his purposes there, two of them that ministered unto him, Timotheus (who had been with him during this whole progress) and Erastus who might have come to Ephesus along with the deputation from Corinth, if he had not more probably joined him at an earlier period. For somewhat more of ERASTUS, *vide* the Index under that name.

Timothy and Erastus then, after that service in the Macedonian churches was performed, were, if nothing intervened to hinder, to have gone down to Corinth. As regards Timothy, *vide* 1 Cor. iv. 17., xvi. 10., and Erastus was a Corinthian.

But Paul himself stayed in Asia (*i. e.* Ephesus) for a season. He had meant to tarry in that city until Pentecost, 1 Cor. xvi. 8. The ensuing history will show how his intention was frustrated.

For the fuller information promised at H. P. 40, 1. to be given here of this journey of Timothy thoroughly investigated, *vide* Appendix D. s. 2.

ACTS xix. 23. And the same time there arose no small stir about that way, *i. e.* the profession of the Christian faith.

24. For a certain man named Demetrius, a silversmith, which made silver shrines for Diana, brought no small gain unto the craftsmen ;

25. Whom he called together with the workmen of like occupation, and said, Sirs, ye know that by this craft we have our wealth.

26. Moreover ye see and hear, that not alone at Ephesus, but almost throughout all Asia, this Paul hath persuaded and turned away much people, saying that they be no gods, which are made with hands :

27. So that not only this our craft is in danger to be set at nought ; but also that the temple of the great goddess Diana should be despised, and her magnificence should be destroyed, whom all Asia and the world worshippeth.

28. And when the workmen heard these sayings, they were full of wrath, and cried out, saying, Great is Diana of the Ephesians.

ACTS xix. 29. And the whole city was filled with confusion : and having caught Gaius and Aristarchus, men of Macedonia, two of Paul's companions in travel (H. P. 146, 7.), they rushed with one accord into the theatre, their usual place of assembly.

30. And when Paul would have entered in unto the people there, his disciples begged him not to do so.

31. And certain of the Asiarchs (*i. e.* presidents of the games at Ephesus) which were his friends,

— this shows the high rank in society to which the apostolic influence had now extended —

sent unto him, desiring him that he would not adventure himself into the theatre ; — and Paul forbore accordingly.

32. Some therefore cried one thing, and some another : for the assembly was confused ; and the more part knew not wherefore they were come together.

33. And they drew Alexander out of the multitude, the Jews putting him forward. And Alexander beckoned with the hand, and would have made his defence unto the people.

If we may suppose this Alexander to be the same with that Ephesian so named at a later period, and twice mentioned by the apostle, he must at one time certainly have been in the right faith : else, he could not afterwards have made shipwreck of it, 1 TIM. i. 20., or become the personal enemy of Paul, 2 TIM. iv. 14., as a Judaising Christian.

But it may be asked, Why was Alexander, if such a man as we suppose him, at this time drawn by Ephesian rioters out of the multitude ? And why did the Jews put him forward ?

The following solution, which I derive from Calvin's commentary on the passage, seems highly probable : that he was drawn forth by some of the Ephesians, because he was well known in Ephesus as a Jew, and no friend therefore to idolatrous images, and malignantly thrust forward by the Jews, because he had recently become a convert to Christianity. And with this supposition his marked character in other respects would well agree : right or wrong, he seems to have been a bold and violent man.

ACTS xix. 34. But when they found that Alexander, so put forward, was a Jew, all with one voice about the space of two hours cried out, Great is Diana of the Ephesians.

35. And when at length the town-clerk had appeased the people, he said, Ye men of Ephesus, what man is there that knoweth not how that the city of the Ephesians is a worshipper of the great goddess Diana, and of the image which fell down from Jupiter ?

36. Seeing then that these things cannot be spoken against, ye ought to be quiet, and to do nothing rashly.

37. For ye have brought hither these men, which are neither robbers of churches, nor yet blasphemers of your goddess.

38. Wherefore if Demetrius, and the craftsmen which are with him, have a matter against any man, the law is open, and there are deputies (*i. e.* proconsuls) : let them implead one another.

39. But if ye inquire any thing concerning other matters, it shall be determined in a lawful assembly.

40. For we are in danger to be called in question for this day's uproar, there being no cause whereby we may give an account of this concourse.

ACTS xix. 41. And when he had thus spoken, he dismissed the assembly.

A. xx. From v. 1. to the first part of v. 3., "and there abode three months," the whole of a very complicated series of transactions is wrapped up in one very short summary.

1. And after the uproar in the theatre was ceased, Paul departed for to go into Macedonia.

After leaving Ephesus thus prematurely, he proceeded to Troas ; and disappointed in not finding Titus there, whom he had expected from Corinth, he hastened into Macedonia ;

PAUL in MACEDONIA a *second* time, H. P. 138.

where he was met by Titus, (2 COR. vii. 6.) and where also, as it will be shown, he overtook Timothy.

From Macedonia, and most probably from Philippi, he wrote

The *Second* EPISTLE to the CORINTHIANS ;

which at its very opening supplies us with an important fact, H. P. 166., by presenting the name of Timothy as then and there with the apostle, on the superscription of it.

This epistle was sent by the hands of Titus, (2 COR. viii. 16.) from the peculiar interest which he had shown, (vii. 13.) in the welfare of the Corinthian converts, and which being again met on their part with affectionate respect, may account for his being left behind at Corinth, when Paul at a later period took his departure, A. xx. 4. with those seven companions from that part of Greece.

For the personal history of the apostle variously involved in that epistle, and for the part which Titus and Timothy bore in those transactions, the reader is of necessity referred to Appendix D., in which he will also read, s. 4., a brief account of the charitable contribution at this time collected for the poor brethren at Jerusalem; and some remarks will be found there, s. 5., on the apostle's grand retrospect of his labours and sufferings, 2 COR. vi. 4...10. and xi. 21...28.

ACTS xx. 2. And when Paul had gone over those parts, — it was now, H. P. 24, 5., that he reached the confines of Illyricum, ROM. xv. 19., and in parts lying to the north-west of Greece begun that preaching of the gospel which afterwards carried him to Nicopolis, TIT. iii. 12. and at a later day sent Titus into Dalmatia. 2 TIM. iv. 10.

When Paul then had gone over those parts and given much exhortation to the disciples, he came into Greece, and of course therefore

to CORINTH, the *second* time,

(It was the *third* time he had *intended* to visit that city, 2 COR. xii. 14. xiii. 1. H. P. 74.)

3. And there he now abode three months.

During this stay at Corinth, Paul appears to have written the greatest of all his epistles,

the EPISTLE to the ROMANS,

not being yet able to fulfil his intention (A. xix. 21.) of visiting Rome in person, though he had oftentimes

purposed it, and then longed to see the brethren in that city, Rom. i. 10...15. His present engagement, however, to carry up to Jerusalem (Rom. xv. 25, 6.) the collection already mentioned, serves sufficiently to account for his delaying the execution of that design.

Singularly enough, he makes the visit to Rome contingent on a plan which it is clear he had then conceived of visiting what may indeed be called the *remotest west*, vv. 24. 28. "If ever I take (as my intention now is) a journey into Spain, I will come to you: for I trust to see you in my journey, and to be forwarded thither by you, after I have in some degree satisfied myself with your company."

On this interesting question of his projected visit to Spain, whether it was accomplished or not, a more proper place will occur to speak somewhat more at large, towards the conclusion of this sacred narrative, when the apostle is set free from his first imprisonment at Rome. *Vide Appendix F.*

As to the circumstance of Phebe, (xvi. 1.) by whom the epistle was sent, belonging to Cenchreæ, the eastern port of Corinth, and as to the time which our chronology allows for Aquila and Priscilla, after their different movements, being now at Rome again, xvi. 3., Dr. Paley may be consulted with advantage and satisfaction, H. P. 21, 2. and (ii.) 17...20.

Aquila and Priscilla at the close of the epistle are there greeted not only in the very first rank of salutation, but with a peculiarity of acknowledgment besides, which seems to refer to the tumultuous scene at Ephesus (and its consequences) for one of the many eminent services which they, being Jews, had rendered to the Gentile Christians, Rom. xvi. 3...5. "Greet

Priscilla and Aquila, my helpers in Christ Jesus, who have for my life laid down their own necks: unto whom not only I give thanks, but also all the churches of the Gentiles. Likewise greet the church which is in their house."

The attentive reader can hardly fail to have been struck with the very great number and particularity of the Christian brethren saluted as being at Rome, in the concluding chapter. It indicates amongst other things the vast frequency of intercourse which led from all quarters, especially from a place like Corinth, to the metropolis of the empire. And the freedom of the Mediterranean sea from piracy or war, which in Horace's time was a blessing recently acquired,

Pacatum volitant per mare navitæ. 4 C. v. 19.

had now long been cultivated as a permanent and universal advantage.

The general situation of the world at the time of the Messiah's appearance, that "fulness of the time," GAL. iv. 4., has of course been always duely remarked, as singularly auspicious to the quick and extensive spreading of the gospel. The progress of the Macedonic and Roman (then united) empires to that remarkable consummation of power under the sway of Augustus Cæsar gave advantages for the propagation of Christianity unknown to any period before. Then precisely, when Judea had just become a province of the Roman empire, and formed part of that wide society established under it, was the time marked in the eternal counsels of God to spread another and everlasting empire over the souls of mankind; and under this exact situation which Divine Providence had matured for the purpose, the joyful sound of salvation within a few years was

heard in remote corners of the earth, into which it might not otherwise have penetrated for many ages.

But in the providential arrangements of that mighty scheme which was to carry glad tidings through all the nations of the then known world, it must not be forgotten, that an engine of wonderful fitness and efficacy for co-operation also was provided in the universal *DISPERSION* of the Jews, now after several stages of progress complete. Wherever their hard fortune from the disasters of Judea, or their own turn afterwards for voluntary migration, carried them into foreign countries, the common tie of a religion so peculiar and exclusive naturally served to bind them together: and under a high species of free-masonry (if that phrase may be forgiven) wherever an Israelite met an Israelite, he would find for every purpose a brother and a friend. To no other people in that or in any age could the principle of aggregation so powerfully belong. The Christian labours of Paul wherever he goes, attest this existence of Jews in collective society: and the favourable opportunity for preaching Jesus as the Messiah, which their synagogue presented, is always first tried by the apostle of the Gentiles.

To the metropolis of the empire particularly, as might for many reasons be expected, a great concourse of Jews had always taken place; and more than a century before the date of this Epistle to the Romans, we find, on Tully's authority*, that their numbers and credit also were very considerable in that city. At the period which now engages our attention, the Jews "were very numerous at Rome, and probably formed a principal part among the new converts." H. P. 31. Of Gentile converts who had previously been proselytes, the remainder must have chiefly consisted. And be it

* Middleton's *Life of Cicero*, vol. i. pp. 316, 7. Ed. 1742.

remembered, that as the zeal of the Jews to gain proselytes to the law, wherever they went, was remarkably active, so on the preaching of Paul those very proselytes, we find, were often distinguished by their greater readiness in being converted to the gospel. The exchange with them had every thing to recommend it, as being at once a transition from strict observances of the Mosaic ritual which early use had seldom in their case rendered tolerable, to the spiritual yoke with its light burden which the religion of Christ imposed on his followers.

On the sublime doctrinal matter, of justification by faith, which forms the principal part of the Epistle to the Romans, it does not fall within my humble design here to speak: but as a beginning, an introduction at least to that great argument, the reader may be advantageously referred to Nos. vii. and viii. of the *Horæ Paulinæ*, pp. 28...33.

Let us now resume the personal history, after observing only that the epistle which we have been here considering, is the last of those six epistles written before the apostle's latest recorded journey to Jerusalem, and before his imprisonments, first at Cesarea and afterwards at Rome.

GALATIANS, 1 & 2 THESSALONIANS, 1 & 2 CORINTHIANS, ROMANS.

Paul, after abiding six months at Corinth, had purposed then to terminate his third great progress and return directly to Antioch once more.

ACTS xx. 3. But when the Jews laid malicious wait

for him as he was about to sail (as at xviii. 18.) on his main voyage into Syria (which he afterwards did, xxi. 3. 4.), he changed his plan, and now determined to visit Macedonia again, before he returned to the East.

ACTS xx. 4. And from Corinth on this journey seven faithful followers were to bear him company, Sopater of Berea, — who afterwards left the party in Asia, probably at Miletus, v. 15. — and of the Thessalonians, Aristarchus and Secundus; and Gaius of Derbe with Timotheus (of Lystra); and of Asia, Tychicus and Trophimus.

Here we may pause to inquire where certain other associates of Paul were at this time.

Of Erastus the natural account seems to be, that after so long an absence he now would remain in his native city among the brethren there. *Vide* Index, ERASTUS, ss. i. ii.

Titus had been sent down from Philippi to Corinth on that mission, 2 COR. viii. 18.; and as he did not now form one of the party which attended Paul, he would remain on that scene of spiritual usefulness, honoured and beloved. *Vide* Index, TITUS, s. v.

In Luke's recorded movements not a vestige exists to show that he had ever quitted Philippi to visit Corinth at all; and at the present season, it is quite clear, that he only joined the apostle on his reaching Philippi, vv. 3...6. The significant words, *us* and *we*, determine that point of time and locality.

The identity, therefore, of the Lucius in ROM. xvi. 21. with Luke the sacred historian, assumed in H. P. 16, 17. note, cannot any longer be maintained. *Vide* also Index, LUKE, s. iv.

ACTS xx. 5. When Paul visited Philippi and made some stay,

— where Luke had been left behind on that memorable occasion, A. xvi. 40., and had stayed ever since, no “unprofitable servant” with talents like his —

when PAUL was thus at PHILIPPI the *third* time ;

the seven followers of Paul by his direction proceeded at once to Troas, among the brethren there to wait till he should arrive from Macedonia, themselves in the mean while not to be idle in so important a vineyard.

These then going before tarried for us at Troas ; for us, that is, for the apostle, and Luke himself, then taken into the number of those that ministered unto him.

And thus, be it also remarked, the future evangelist and recorder of the Acts was by Divine Providence here enlisted in that apostolic service, which ultimately rendered him the great historian of Christianity.

A. xx. 6. And WE sailed away from Philippi after the days of unleavened bread, and came unto them to Troas in five days ; where WE abode seven days,

— days devoted to the church at Troas, where Luke was personally well known, and where Paul himself would retrieve the opportunity lost when on his last visit there he quitted the place in haste and reluctantly, 2 COR. ii. 12, 13.

7. And upon the first day of the week, when the disciples came together to break bread, Paul preached unto them, ready to depart on the morrow ; and continued his speech until midnight.

8. And there were many lights where WE were gathered together. *Vide* NOTE.

ACTS xx. 9. And there sate in a window a certain young man, named Eutychus, being fallen into a deep sleep: and as Paul was long preaching, he sunk down with sleep, and fell down from the third loft, and was taken up dead.

10. And Paul went down, and fell on him, and embracing him, said, Trouble not yourselves; for his life is in him.

11. When he therefore was come up again, and had broken bread, and eaten, and talked a long while, even till break of day, then he departed.

12. And they brought the young man alive, and were not a little comforted.

13. And WE went before to ship, and sailed unto Assos, there intending to take in Paul: for so had he appointed, minding himself to go by land. *Vide* NOTE.

— “designing perhaps to call upon some of the Christians by the way.” Dr. Benson, vol. ii. p. 217. This idea, if we might indulge it, would favour the supposition that the apostle, when he left Ephesus, (xx. 1.) had then gone up by land to Troas, and had made or visited some converts to the gospel at the close of that journey betwixt Troas and Assos. *Vide* TROAS in the Index.

A. xx. 14. And when Paul met with us at Assos, WE took him in, and came to Mitylene.

15. And WE sailed thence, and came the next day over against Chios; and the next day WE arrived at Samos, and tarried at Trogyllium; and the next day WE came to Miletus.

16. For Paul had determined to sail past Ephesus, because he would not spend the time in Asia (that city

and neighbourhood) : for he hasted, if it were possible for him, to be at Jerusalem the day of Pentecost.

ACTS xx. 17. And from Miletus (at the distance of about xxv miles) he sent to Ephesus, and called the elders of the church.

18. And when they were come to him, he said unto them, Ye know, from the first day that I came into Asia, after what manner I have been at all seasons,

19. Serving the Lord with all humility of mind, and with many tears, and temptations (*i. e.* trials and perils) which befell me by the lying in wait of the Jews (from which, it should seem, he was seldom exempt) :

20. And how I kept back nothing that was profitable unto you, but have showed you, and have taught you both publickly and in private houses,

21. Testifying both to the Jews, and also to the Greeks, repentance towards God, and faith toward our Lord Jesus Christ.

22. And now, behold, I go bound in the spirit unto Jerusalem, not knowing the things that shall befall me there :

23. Save that the Holy Ghost witnesseth in every city, saying that bonds and afflictions abide me.

When he wrote to the Romans from Corinth in his three months' stay there, (A. xx. 3.) he then begged their prayers, that he might be delivered from the unbelieving Jews in Judea. ROM. xv. 30, 31. But that his fears should now become greater and his hopes less at this stage of his journey to Jerusalem, is well remarked in H. P. 26, 7.

ACTS xx. 24. But none of these things move me, neither count I my life dear unto myself, so that I might finish my course with joy, and the ministry, which I have received of the Lord Jesus, to testify the gospel of the grace of God.

25. And now, behold, I know that ye all, among whom I have gone preaching the kingdom of God, shall see my face no more.

— On the true interpretation of this verse, let H. P. 167, 8. by all means be consulted.

26. Wherefore I take you to record this day, that I am pure from the blood of all men.

27. For I have not shunned to declare unto you all the counsel of God.

28. Take heed therefore unto yourselves, and to all the flock, over the which the Holy Ghost hath made you overseers (*ἐπισκόπους*), to feed the church of God, which he hath purchased with his own blood.

29. For I know this, that after my departing shall grievous wolves enter in among you, not sparing the flock.

30. Also of your own selves shall men arise, speaking perverse things, to draw away disciples after them.

These forebodings of evil and error, as it appears from several passages in the First Epistle to Timothy, were fully realised some years afterwards in the church of Ephesus.

A. xx. 31. Therefore watch, and remember, that by the space of three years I ceased not to warn every one night and day with tears.

ACTS xx. 32. And now, brethren, I commend you to God, and to the word of his grace, which is able to build you up, and to give you an inheritance among all them which are sanctified.

33. I have coveted no man's silver, or gold, or apparel.

34. Yea, ye yourselves know, that these hands have ministered unto my necessities, and to them that were with me.

— On the agreement of this speech of Paul to the elders of Ephesus, with the particular fact recorded in A. xviii. 3., the reader may consult H. P. 43. and 161, 2.

35. I have showed you all things, how that so labouring ye ought to support the weak, and to remember the words of the Lord Jesus, how he said, It is more blessed to give than to receive.

36. And when he had thus spoken, he kneeled down, and prayed with them all.

37. And they all wept sore, and fell on Paul's neck, and kissed him,

38. Sorrowing most of all for the words which he spake, that they should see his face no more. And they accompanied him unto the ship.

ACTS xxi. Here let it be premised, that Luke and the now *six* companions of Paul (for Sopater is supposed to have staid behind at Miletus) are still found in his company as far as the 18th verse of this chapter inclusive: but in the course of a few days afterwards he was parted from them.

1. And it came to pass, that after we were gotten from the Ephesian elders, and had launched from Miletus, we came with a straight course unto Coos,

and the day following unto Rhodes, and from thence unto Patara :

ACTS xxi. 2. And finding a ship sailing over unto Phenicia, WE went aboard, and set forth.

3. Now when WE had discovered Cyprus, WE left it on the left hand, and sailed into Syria, and landed at Tyre : for there the ship was to unlade her burden.

4. And having found out the disciples (*vide* NOTE) that were in that city, — those converted as early as A. xi. 19...21. — WE tarried there seven days (thus including the Lord's day, which they had done at Troas) : which disciples said to Paul through the Spirit, that he should not go up to Jerusalem.

5. And when WE had accomplished those days, WE departed and went our way ; and they all brought us on our way, with wives and children, till we were out of the city : and WE kneeled down on the shore, and prayed.

6. And when WE had taken our leave one of another, WE took ship ; and they returned home again.

7. And when WE had finished our course from Tyre, WE came to Ptolemais, and saluted the brethren, and abode with them one day.

8. And the next day WE that were of Paul's company departed, and came unto Cesarea : and WE entered into the house of Philip the evangelist, which was one of the seven, A. vi. 5.

— His labours in the gospel are particularly recorded, A. viii. 5...40.
and there abode with him.

9. And the same man had four daughters, virgins, which did prophesy.

10. And as WE tarried there several days, there came down from Judea a certain prophet, named Agabus, — the same with Agabus, in A. xi. 28.

ACTS xxi. 11. And when he was come unto us, he took Paul's girdle, and bound his own hands and feet, and said, Thus saith the Holy Ghost, So shall the Jews at Jerusalem bind the man that owneth this girdle, and shall deliver him into the hands of the Gentiles.

12. And when we heard these things, both we, and they of that place, besought him not to go up to Jerusalem.

13. Then Paul answered, What mean ye to weep and to break my heart? for I am ready not to be bound only, but also to die at Jerusalem for the name of the Lord Jesus.

14. And when he would not be persuaded, we ceased, saying, The Lord's will be done.

15. And after those days we packed up for the journey, and went up to Jerusalem.

16. There went with us also certain of the disciples of Cesarea, and brought with them one Mnason of Cyprus, an old disciple, with whom we should lodge.

PAUL, for the *last* recorded time, at JERUSALEM.

A. xxi. 17. And when we were come to Jerusalem, the brethren there received us gladly,

— “particularly on account of the great alms now brought for the poor saints at Jerusalem,” from their Gentile brethren.

18. And the day following Paul went in with us unto James; and all the elders were present.

— At this time, John was not at Jerusalem, nor yet Peter: James, with episcopal rank, was permanently there. *Vide* Index, PETER, &c.

19. And when Paul had saluted them, he declared

particularly what things God had wrought among the Gentiles by his ministry,

— in the course of his late most extensive and varied progress.

ACTS xxi. 20. And when they heard it, they glorified the Lord, and said unto him, Thou seest, brother, how many thousands of Jews there are (at the feast) which believe ; and they are all zealous of the law :

21. And they are informed of thee, that thou teachest all the Jews (*i. e.* Jewish believers) which are among the Gentiles to forsake Moses, saying that they ought not to circumcise their children, neither to walk after the customs.

22. What is it therefore ? the multitude must needs come together : for they will hear that thou art come.

23. Do therefore this that we say to thee : We have four men which have a vow on them ;

24. Them take, and purify thyself along with them, and (as they are poor men) help them to defray the expences of it, that they may shave their heads and be clear from their vow (NUMBERS vi. 13...31.) ; and that so all may know that those things, whereof they were informed concerning thee, are nothing ; but that thou thyself also walkest orderly, and keepest the law.

— Here, be it remarked, “ though the law was no longer necessary, it had not become sinful.”

25. As touching the Gentiles which believe, we have written (A. xv. 28, 9.) and concluded, that they observe no such thing, save only that they keep themselves from things offered to idols, and from blood, and from strangled, and from fornication.

26. Then Paul took the men, and the next day purifying himself with them entered into the temple, to signify the accomplishment of the days of purification, until that an offering should be offered for every one of them.

ACTS xxi. 27. And when the seven days were almost ended, the (unbelieving) Jews which were of Asia, — probably from Ephesus, who had come to the feast of Pentecost — when they saw him in the temple, stirred up all the people, and laid hands on him.

At this point, the third apostolic progress may be said to terminate.

If the violent and unjust apprehension of Paul had not now occurred, he might as before have returned to Antioch, the close of his former progresses; or he might have taken the earliest opportunity instead to visit Rome, according to his intention solemnly declared at Ephesus.

A. xix. 21. After I have been there (at Jerusalem), I must also see Rome.

From henceforth, however, we have to view the apostle of the Gentiles as suffering under Jewish persecution, to the end of the Acts. And the remainder of the sacred narrative is altogether so very full, clear, and distinct, as to supersede the necessity of any summary. The history may thus be resumed.

A. xxi. 27. And when the seven days were almost ended, the (unbelieving) Jews which were of Asia, when they saw Paul in the temple, stirred up all the people, and laid hands on him,

28. Crying out, Men of Israel, help: This is the man, that teacheth all men every where against the people, and the law, and this place; and further brought Greeks also into the temple, and hath polluted this holy place.

ACTS xxi. 29. (For they had seen before with him Trophimus, the Ephesian, whom they falsely supposed that Paul had brought into the temple.)

30. And all the city was moved, and the people ran together: and they took Paul, and drew him out of the temple: and forthwith the doors were shut.

31. And as they went about to kill him, tidings came unto the chief captain of the band, that all Jerusalem was in an uproar:

32. Who immediately took soldiers and centurions, and ran down unto them; and when they saw the chief captain and the soldiers, they left beating of Paul.

33. Then the chief captain came near, and took him, and commanded him to be bound with two chains; and demanded who he was, and what he had done.

34. And some cried one thing, some another, among the multitude: and when he could not know the certainty for the tumult, he commanded Paul to be carried into the castle.

35. And when he came upon the stairs, so it was, that he was borne of the soldiers for the violence of the people.

36. For the multitude of the people followed after, crying, Away with him.

37. And as Paul was about to be led into the castle, he said (in Greek) to the chief captain, May I speak unto thee? Who said, Canst thou speak Greek?

— To the chief captain it would have been of no use to speak in the Syriac or Hebrew tongue of that day: Greek of course he knew.

38. Art not thou that Egyptian, which before these days madest an uproar, and leddest out into the wilderness four thousand men that were murderers?

39. But Paul said, I am a man which am a Jew of Tarsus, a city in Cilicia, a citizen of no mean city: and I beseech thee, suffer me to speak unto the people.

ACTS xxi. 40. And when he had given him licence, Paul stood on the stairs, and beckoned with the hand unto the people. And when there was made a great silence, he spake unto them (the common people) in the Hebrew tongue, saying,

A. xxii. 1. Men, brethren, and fathers, hear ye my defence which I make now unto you.

2. (And when they heard that he spake in the Hebrew tongue to them, they kept the more silence : and he saith,)

3. I am verily a man which am a Jew, born in Tarsus, a city in Cilicia, yet brought up in this city at the feet of Gamaliel, and taught according to the perfect manner of the law of the fathers, and was zealous towards God, as ye all are this day.

4. And I persecuted this way (the Christian) unto the death, binding and delivering into prisons both men and women.

5. As also the high priest (of that day) doth bear me witness, and all the estate of the elders : from whom also I received letters unto the brethren, and went to Damascus, to bring them which were there bound unto Jerusalem, for to be punished.

6. And it came to pass, that, as I made my journey, and was come nigh unto Damascus about noon, suddenly there shone from heaven a great light round about me.

7. And I fell unto the ground, and heard a voice saying unto me, Saul, Saul, why persecutest thou me ?

8. And I answered, Who art thou, Lord ? And he said unto me, I am Jesus of Nazareth, whom thou persecutest.

9. And they that were with me saw indeed the light, and were afraid ; but they heard not the voice — so as to understand it — of him that spake to me.

Acts xxii. 10. And I said, What shall I do, Lord? And the Lord said unto me, Arise and go into Damascus; and there it shall be told thee of all things which are appointed for thee to do.

11. And when I could not see for the glory of that light, being led by the hand of them that were with me, I came into Damascus.

12. And one Ananias (then a disciple, A. ix. 10.) having as a proselyte been strict in observing the law, and therefore being well reported of by all the Jews that dwelt there,

— this character would win the attention of Paul's present hearers —

13. Came unto me, and stood, and said unto me, Brother Saul, receive thy sight again. And the same hour I recovered my sight, and looked him in the face.

14. And he said, The God of our fathers hath chosen thee, that thou shouldest know his will, and see that Just One, and shouldest hear the voice of his mouth.

15. For thou shalt be his witness unto all men of what thou hast seen and heard.

16. And now why tarriest thou? arise, and be baptized, and wash away thy sins, calling on the name of the Lord.

17. And it came to pass, that when I was come again to Jerusalem, even while I prayed in the temple, I was in a trance;

— on the subject of divine visions, *vide* Appendix C. on A. xviii. 9, 10.

18. And saw him (the blessed Jesus) saying unto me, Make haste, and get thee quickly out of Jerusalem: for they will not receive thy testimony concerning me.

19. And I said, Lord, they know that I imprisoned

and beat in every synagogue them that believed on thee.

ACTS xxii. 20. And when the blood of thy martyr Stephen was shed, I also was standing by, and consenting unto his death, and kept the raiment of them that slew him.

21. And he said unto me, Depart : for I will send thee far hence unto the Gentiles.

22. And they gave him audience unto this word, and then lifted up their voices, and said, Away with such a fellow from the earth : for it is not fit that he should live.

23. And as they cried out, and threw up their garments, and flung dust into the air,

24. The chief captain commanded Paul to be brought into the castle, and bade that he should be examined by scourging ; that he might know wherefore they cried so against him.

25. And when they had bound him with the thongs, (*vide* NOTE) Paul said unto the centurion that stood by, Is it lawful for you to scourge a man that is a Roman, and uncondemned ?

26. When the centurion heard that, he went and told the chief captain, saying, Take heed what thou doest : for this man is a Roman.

27. Then the chief captain came, and said unto Paul, Tell me, art thou a Roman ? He said, Yea.

28. And the chief captain answered, With a great sum obtained I this freedom. And Paul said, But I was free born.

29. Then straightway they departed from him which should have examined him by the scourge : and the chief captain also was afraid, after he knew that he was a Roman, and because he had bound him.

30. On the morrow, because he would have it cer-

tainly known for what cause Paul was accused of the Jews, he loosed him from his bands, and commanded the chief priests and all their council to appear, and brought Paul down, and set him before them.

ACTS xxiii. 1. And Paul, earnestly beholding the council, said, Men and brethren, I have lived in all good conscience before God until this day.

2. And the high priest Ananias commanded them that stood by him, to smite him on the mouth.

3. Then said Paul unto him, God shall smite thee, thou whited wall : for sittest thou to judge me after the law, and commandest me to be smitten contrary to the law ?

4. And they that stood by said, Revilest thou God's high priest ?

5. Then said Paul, I wist not, brethren, that he was the high priest : for it is written, Thou shalt not speak evil of the ruler of thy people.

6. But when Paul perceived that the one part were Sadducees, and the other Pharisees, he cried out in the council, Men and brethren, I am a Pharisee, the son of a Pharisee : of the hope and resurrection of the dead I am called in question.

7. And when he had so said, there arose a dissension between the Pharisees and the Sadducees : and the multitude was divided.

8. For the Sadducees say that there is no resurrection, neither angel, nor spirit : but the Pharisees confess both.

9. And there arose a great cry : and the scribes that were of the Pharisees' part arose, and strove, saying, We find no evil in this man : but if a spirit or an angel hath spoken to him, let us not fight against God.

10. And when there arose a great dissension, the

chief captain, fearing lest Paul should have been pulled in pieces of them, commanded the soldiers to go down, and to take him by force from among them, and to bring him into the castle.

ACTS xxiii. 11. And the night following the Lord stood by him, and said, Be of good cheer, Paul : for as thou hast testified of me in Jerusalem, so must thou bear witness also at Rome.

— Apparently, the two limits divinely marked for the apostolic missions of Paul.

12. And when it was day, certain of the Jews banded together, and bound themselves under a curse, saying that they would neither eat nor drink till they had killed Paul.

13. And they were more than forty which had made this conspiracy.

14. And they came to the chief priests and elders, and said, We have bound ourselves under a great curse, that we will eat nothing until we have slain Paul.

15. Now therefore ye with the council signify to the chief captain that he bring him down unto you to-morrow, as though ye would inquire something more perfectly concerning him : and we, or ever he come near, are ready to kill him.

16. And when Paul's sister's son heard of their lying in wait, he went and entered into the castle, and told Paul.

17. Then Paul called one of the centurions unto him, and said, Bring this young man unto the chief captain : for he hath a certain thing to tell him.

18. So he took him, and brought him to the chief captain, and said, Paul the prisoner called me unto him, and prayed me to bring this young man unto thee, who hath something to say unto thee.

Acts xxiii. 19. Then the chief captain took him by the hand, and went with him aside privately, and asked him, What is that thou hast to tell me ?

20. And he said, The Jews have agreed to desire thee that thou wouldest bring down Paul to-morrow into the council, as though they would inquire somewhat of him more perfectly.

21. But do not thou yield to them : for there lie in wait for him of them more than forty men, which have bound themselves with an oath, that they will neither eat nor drink till they have killed him : and now are they ready, looking for a promise from thee.

22. So the chief captain then let the young man depart, and charged him, See thou tell no man that thou hast showed these things to me.

23. And he called unto him two centurions, saying, Make ready two hundred soldiers to go to Cesarea, and horsemen threescore and ten, and spearmen two hundred, at the third hour of the night :

24. And provide them beasts, that they may set Paul on, and bring him safe unto Felix the governor.

25. And he wrote a letter after this manner :

26. Claudius Lysias unto the most excellent governor Felix sendeth greeting.

27. This man was taken of the Jews, and was in danger of being killed by them : then came I with the soldiers at my command, and rescued him, having understood that he was a Roman.

28. And when I would have known the cause wherefore they accused him, I brought him forth into their council :

29. Whom I perceived to be accused of questions of their law, but to have nothing laid to his charge worthy of death or of bonds.

30. And when it was told me how that the Jews

laid wait for the man, I sent straightway to thee, and gave commandment to his accusers also to say before thee what they had against him. Farewell.

ACTS xxiii. 31. Then the soldiers, as it was commanded them, took Paul, and brought him by night to Antipatris.

32. On the morrow they left the horsemen to go with him, and returned to the castle :

33. Who (the horsemen), when they came to Cesarea, and delivered the epistle to the governor, presented Paul also before him.

34. And when the governor had read the letter, he asked of what province Paul was. And when he understood that he was of Cilicia ;

35. I will hear thee, said he, when thine accusers are also come. And he commanded him to be kept in Herod's judgment hall.

A. xxiv. 1. And after five days Ananias the high priest descended (from Jerusalem) with the elders, and with a certain orator named Tertullus, who informed the governor against Paul.

2. And when he was called forth, Tertullus began to accuse him, saying, Seeing that by thee we enjoy great quietness, and that very worthy deeds are done unto this nation by thy providence,

3. We accept it always, and in all places, most noble Felix, with all thankfulness.

4. Notwithstanding, that I be not further tedious unto thee, I pray thee, that thou wouldest hear us, of thy clemency, a few words.

5. For we have found this man a pestilent fellow, and a mover of sedition among all the Jews, and a ring-leader of the sect of the Nazarenes :

6. Who also hath gone about to profane the temple :

whom we took, and would have judged according to our law.

ACTS xxiv. 7. But the chief captain Lysias came upon us, and with great violence took him away out of our hands,

8. Commanding his accusers to come unto thee : by examining of whom thyself mayest take knowledge of all these things, whereof we accuse him.

9. And the Jews also assented, saying that these things were so.

10. Then Paul, after that the governor had beckoned unto him to speak, answered, Forasmuch as I know that thou hast been of many years a judge unto this nation, I do the more cheerfully answer for myself :

11. Because that thou mayest understand, that there are yet but twelve days since I went up to Jerusalem for to worship.

12. And they neither found me in the temple disputing with any man, neither raising up the people, neither in the synagogues, nor in the city :

13. Neither can they prove the things whereof they now accuse me.

14. But this I confess unto thee, that after the way which they call heresy (or *sect*, as at v. 5.) so worship I the God of my fathers, believing all things which are written in the law and in the prophets :

15. And have hope toward God, which they themselves also allow, that there shall be a resurrection of the dead, both of the just and unjust.

16. And herein do I exercise myself to have always a conscience void of offence toward God, and toward men.

17. Now after many years

—the last visit previously paid by Paul to Jerusalem is recorded A. xviii. 22.—

I came to bring alms to my nation, and offerings (on account of the vow, A. xxi. 26.).

— For the object of that eleemosynary mission and the particulars regarding it, *vide* Appendix D. s. 4.

ACTS xxiv. 18. Whereupon (during this my visit) certain Jews from Asia found me purified in the temple, neither with multitude, nor with tumult.

19. Who (the Jews from Asia) ought to have been here before thee, and object, if they had ought against me.

20. Or else let these same here say, if they found any evil doing proved against me, while I stood before the council,

21. Except it be for this one voice, that I cried standing among them, Touching the resurrection of the dead I am called in question by you this day.

22. And when Felix heard these things, having now more correct and just knowledge of that way which Paul professed to follow,

— *vide infra*, A. xxv. 18, 19.—

he deferred them, and said, When Lysias the chief captain shall come down, I will know the uttermost of your matter.

23. And he commanded the centurion (one of those, A. xxiii. 23.) to keep Paul, and to let him have liberty, and that he should forbid none of his acquaintance to minister or come unto him.

24. And after certain days, when Felix (after some short absence) came to Cesarea with his wife Drusilla, which was a Jewess, he sent for Paul, and heard him concerning the faith in Christ.

25. And as he reasoned of righteousness, temperance, and judgment to come, Felix trembled, and answered, Go thy way for this time; when I have a convenient season, I will call for thee.

ACTS xxiv. 26. He hoped also that money should have been given him of Paul, that he might loose him : wherefore he sent for him the oftener, and communed with him.

27. But after two years Porcius Festus came into Felix' room : and Felix, willing to show the Jews a pleasure, left Paul still a prisoner.

CESAREA at this period, as the seat of the Roman governor and having a very fine harbour also, was a city of great political and commercial resort, and from its peculiar connection with the early progress of the gospel, an object of great interest to us. There, too, we find Paul appear on that scene of history enjoying the society of all persons of his acquaintance who wished it, v. 23., and in the midst of free and frequent intercourse with every part of the world, especially so with Jerusalem, on the one hand, much also with Antioch on the other.

For our immediate purpose, the reader may be reminded also, that Philip the evangelist was settled at Cesarea, A. xxi. 8., where he had founded a church of believers, A. viii. 40., and where we find amongst other names, A. xxi. 16., that of Mnason of Cyprus designated as an old disciple.

During the two years therefore that Paul resided, A. xxiv. 27., under these favourable circumstances at Cesarea, we cannot doubt but that his evangelical zeal would find a range of blessed and constant activity, in "the daily care of all the churches" then very numerous ; though it may be regretted that of those unquestionable labours, carried on through his apostolic ministers, no particular record has been preserved.

But what, it may be asked, appears in the mean while to have become of Paul's companions in travel ?

During his short stay at Jerusalem, they must have continued with the apostle : but his being carried off to Cesarea for safety, A. xxiii. 23...33., would detach him at once from his faithful associates. Nor during the interval of his two years' residence in that city does any clear vestige remain to show, how many of them were otherwise on missions employed, or after rejoining him there formed his personal society.

His appeal to Cesar, A. xxvi. 32., appears to have led to an immediate transmission from Cesarea; and we may well suppose that the privilege of *several* attendants would hardly be granted to him. In this sudden emergency, we find that two only, *Aristarchus* the Macedonian (A. xxvii. 2.) and the sacred historian *Luke* (afterwards joined in salutation from Rome, COLOSS. iv. 10.) bore the apostle company in that voyage.

Of *Secundus*, the name, after A. xx. 4., occurs nowhere else; nor does that of *Sosipater* or *Sopater* (ROM. xvi. 21.) ever again appear.

To *Gaius* of Derbe who after that time does not re-appear, on account of his important character a separate notice is devoted in the Index under that name, GAIUS.

Trophimus, the innocent cause of all that trouble, A. xxi. 29., is particularly mentioned at a very late period of the apostle's travels, 2 TIM. iv. 20.

Tychicus, "a fellow-servant and faithful minister in the Lord," was on several occasions of moment after this time employed by the apostle, COLOSS. iv. 7. TITUS iii. 12. 2 TIM. iv. 12. *Vide* Index, TYCHICUS.

The beloved *Timothy* (by some mischance we may well believe) was not with Paul on his quitting Cesarea: but he probably followed him without much loss of time, and he stayed with him at Rome to the end of

his first imprisonment. All the epistles from that city, excepting the Circular, to the Ephesians so called, carry the name of Timothy in the superscription.

ACTS xxv. 1. Now when Festus was come into the province, after three days he ascended from Cesarea to Jerusalem.

2. Then the high priest and the chief of the Jews informed him against Paul, and besought him,

3. And desired favour against him, that he would send for him to Jerusalem, themselves forming a plot in the mean while to kill him by the way.

4. But Festus (the providence of God so ordered it) answered otherwise than they expected, that Paul should be kept at Cesarea, and that he himself would depart shortly thither.

5. Let them therefore, said he, which among you are men of authority, go down with me, and accuse this man, if there be any wickedness in him.

6. And when he had tarried among them more than ten days, he went down unto Cesarea; and the next day sitting on the judgment-seat commanded Paul to be brought.

7. And when he was come, the Jews which came down from Jerusalem, stood round about, and laid many and grievous complaints against Paul, which they were not able to prove.

8. While he answered for himself, Neither against the law of the Jews, neither against the temple, nor yet against Cesar have I offended at all.

9. But Festus now,
— though fully aware that the question involved was one of religion only —
yet, willing for the sake of popularity to do the Jews a

pleasure, answered Paul, and said, Wilt thou go up to Jerusalem, and there be judged of these things before me?

ACTS xxv. 10. Then said Paul, I stand at Cesar's judgment-seat, where I ought to be judged: to the Jews have I done no wrong, as thou very well knowest — from the examination that has taken place.

11. For if I be an offender, or have committed any thing worthy of death, I refuse not to die: but if there be none of these things whereof these men accuse me, no man can lawfully give me up (or as it may be more strongly termed, sacrifice me) unto them. I appeal — even from thee as governor — unto Cesar.

12. Then Festus, when he had conferred with his counsel, answered, Hast thou appealed unto Cesar? unto Cesar shalt thou go.

13. And after certain days king Agrippa and Bernice came unto Cesarea to salute Festus.

14. And when they had been there several days, Festus declared Paul's cause unto the king, saying, There is a certain man left in bonds by Felix:

15. About whom, when I was at Jerusalem, the chief priests and the elders of the Jews informed me, desiring to have judgment against him.

16. To whom I answered, It is not the manner of the Romans to give up any man to die, before that he which is accused have the accusers face to face, and have licence to answer for himself concerning the crime laid against him.

17. Therefore when they were come hither, without any delay on the morrow I sat on the judgment seat, and commanded the man to be brought forth.

18. Against whom when the accusers stood up, they brought none accusation of such things as I supposed:

19. But had certain questions against him of their

own religion, and of one Jesus which was dead, whom Paul affirmed to be alive.

ACTS xxv. 20. And because I doubted of such manner of questions, I asked him whether he would go to Jerusalem, and there be judged of these matters.

21. But when Paul had appealed to be reserved unto the hearing of Augustus, I commanded him to be kept till I might send him to Cesar.

22. Then Agrippa (being himself by birth a Jew) said unto Festus, I would also hear the man myself. To-morrow, said he, thou shalt hear him.

23. And on the morrow, when Agrippa was come, and Bernice, with great pomp, and was entered into the place of hearing, with the chief captains, and principal men of the city, at Festus' commandment Paul was brought forth.

24. And Festus said, King Agrippa, and all men which are here present with us, ye see this man, about whom all the multitude of the Jews have dealt with me, both at Jerusalem, and also here, crying that he ought not to live any longer.

25. But when I found that he had committed nothing worthy of death, and that he himself hath appealed to Augustus, I have determined to send him.

26. Of whom I have no certain thing to write unto my Lord. Wherefore I have brought him forth before you, and specially before thee, O king Agrippa, that after examination had, I might have something to write.

27. For it seemeth to me unreasonable to send a prisoner, and not withal to signify the crimes laid against him.

A. xxvi. 1. Then Agrippa said unto Paul, Thou art permitted to speak for thyself. Then Paul stretched forth the hand, and answered for himself :

ACTS xxvi. 2. I think myself happy, king Agrippa, because I shall answer for myself this day before thee touching all the things whereof I am accused by the Jews :

3. Especially because I know thee to be expert in all customs and questions which are among the Jews : wherefore I beseech thee to hear me patiently.

4. My manner of life from my youth, which was at first among mine own nation at Jerusalem, know all the Jews ;

5. Which knew me from the beginning, if they would testify, that after the most straitest sect of our religion I lived a Pharisee.

6. And now I stand and am judged for the hope of the promise (of the Messiah) made of God unto our fathers :

7. Unto which promise our twelve tribes, instantly serving God day and night, hope to come. For which hope's sake, king Agrippa, I am accused of the Jews.

8. Why should it be thought a thing incredible with you, that God should raise the dead ?

— and yet my dispute with the Jews turns principally on that very point. *Vide infra*, v. 23. —

9. I once indeed thought with myself, that I ought to do many things contrary to the name of Jesus of Nazareth.

10. Which thing I also did in Jerusalem : and many of the saints did I shut up in prison, having received authority from the chief priests : and when they were put to death, I gave my voice against them.

11. And I punished them oft in every synagogue, and did my utmost to make them blaspheme (see the NOTE), and being exceedingly mad against them, I persecuted them even unto strange cities.

12. Whereupon as I went to Damascus with authority and commission from the chief priests,

ACTS xxvi. 13. At mid-day, O king, I saw in the way a light from heaven, above the brightness of the sun, shining round about me and them which journeyed with me.

14. And when we were all fallen to the earth, I heard a voice speaking unto me, and saying in the Hebrew tongue, Saul, Saul, why persecutest thou me? it is hard for thee to kick against the pricks.

15. And I said, Who art thou, Lord? And he said, I am Jesus whom thou persecutest.

16. But rise, and stand upon thy feet: for I have appeared unto thee for this purpose, to make thee a minister and a witness both of these things which thou hast now seen, and of those things in the which I will hereafter appear unto thee;

17. Delivering thee from the (Jewish) people, and from the Gentiles, unto whom I now send thee,

18. To open their eyes, that they may turn from darkness to light, and from the power of Satan unto God, that so they may receive forgiveness of sins, and inheritance among them which are sanctified by faith that is in me.

19. Whereupon, O king Agrippa, I was not disobedient unto the heavenly vision:

20. But showed first to them of Damascus, and throughout all the coasts of Judea, and then to the Gentiles, that they should repent and turn to God, and do works meet for repentance.

21. For these causes the Jews caught me in the temple, and went about to kill me.

22. Having therefore obtained that protection which God alone can give, I continue unto this day, witnessing both to small and great, saying none other things than those which the prophets and Moses did say should come to pass:

ACTS xxvi. 23. That Christ (the Messiah) should suffer, and that he should be the first that should rise from the dead, and show light unto the people (of Israel) and to the Gentiles.

24. And as he thus spake for himself, Festus said with a loud voice, Paul, thou art beside thyself; much learning doth make thee mad.

25. But he said, I am not mad, most noble Festus; but speak forth the words of truth and soberness.

26. For the king is well acquainted with these things, before whom also I speak freely: for I am persuaded that none of these things is unknown to him; for this thing was not done in a corner.

27. King Agrippa, believest thou the prophets? I know that thou believest.

28. Then Agrippa said unto Paul, Almost thou persuadest me to be a Christian.

29. And Paul said, I would to God, that not only thou, but also all that hear me this day, were both almost, and altogether such as I am, except these bonds.

30. And when he had thus spoken, the king rose up, and the governor, and Bernice, and they that sat with them:

31. And when they were gone aside, they talked between themselves, saying, This man doeth nothing worthy of death or of bonds.

32. Then said Agrippa unto Festus, This man might have been set at liberty, if he had not appealed unto Cesar.

ACTS xxvii. In regard of Luke the historian, whose *we* immediately, v. 1., shows itself, it is fair to presume that he had been previously the companion of Paul at Cesarea; though no occasion to blend himself with the apostle, and to speak in united concern as he now does, *we* and *us*, had ever occurred before.

How then had Luke in the mean while been occupied? Nothing more likely, than, with all the advantages of that situation, in the composition of the Gospel which bears his name.

Vide APPENDIX E. on Luke and his Gospel, at Cesarea.

xxvii. 1. And when it was determined that *we* should sail into Italy, they delivered Paul and certain other prisoners unto one named Julius, a centurion of Augustus' band.

2. And entering into a ship of Adramyttium, *we* launched, meaning to sail by the coasts of Asia; Aristarchus a Macedonian of Thessalonica (one of the seven, xx. 4.) being along with *us*.

3. And the next day *we* touched at Sidon.

— Here also, as well as at Tyre, xxi. 3, 4., there were disciples and friends, previously known.

And Julius

— knowing doubtless the apostle's superiority to the other prisoners — courteously entreated Paul, and gave him liberty to go unto his friends to refresh himself.

4. And when *we* had launched from thence, *we* sailed under Cyprus, because the winds were contrary.

5. And when *we* had sailed over the sea of Cilicia and Pamphylia, *we* came to Myra, a city of Lycia.

6. And there the centurion found a ship of Alexandria

— with a cargo of wheat for Rome, v. 38. —
sailing into Italy ; and he put us therein.

ACTS xxvii. 7. And when WE had sailed slowly many days, and scarce were come over against Cnidus, the wind not suffering us, WE sailed under Crete, over against Salmone ;

8. And, with difficulty doubling the cape so called, came unto a place which is called The fair havens ; nigh whereunto was the city of Lasea.

9. Now when much time was spent, and when sailing was now dangerous, because the fast (of expiation, about the equinox) was now already past, Paul admonished them,

10. And said unto them, Sirs, I perceive that this voyage will be with hurt and much damage, not only of the lading and ship, but also of our lives.

11. Nevertheless the centurion believed the master and the owner of the ship, more than those things which were spoken by Paul.

12. And because the haven was not commodious to winter in, the more part advised to depart thence also, if by any means they might attain to Phenice, and there to winter ; which is an haven of Crete, and lieth toward the south-west and north-west.

13. And when the south wind blew softly, supposing that they had obtained their purpose, loosing thence, they sailed close by Crete.

14. But not long after there arose against it (the ship) a tempestuous wind, called Euroclydon (a Levanter, now called).

15. And when the ship was hurried away, and could not bear up against the wind, WE let her drive, as she might.

16. And running under a certain island which is called Claudia, WE had much work to secure the boat :

ACTS xxvii. 17. Which when they had taken up, they used helps, undergirding the ship ; and, fearing lest they should fall into the quicksands (the greater Syrtis on the African coast), strake sail, and so were driven.

18. And as WE were exceedingly tossed with the tempest, the next day they lightened the ship ;

19. And the third day WE cast out with our own hands the tackling of the ship.

20. And when neither sun nor stars in many days appeared, and no small tempest lay on us, all hope that we should be saved was then taken away.

21. But after long abstinence (from regular food) Paul stood forth in the midst of them, and said, Sirs, ye should have hearkened unto me, and not have loosed from Crete, and so have saved this harm and loss.

22. And now I exhort you to be of good cheer : for there shall be no loss of any man's life among you, but of the ship only.

23. For there stood by me this night the angel of God, whose I am, and whom I serve,

24. Saying, Fear not, Paul ; thou must be brought before Cesar : and, lo, God hath given thee all them that sail with thee.

25. Wherefore, sirs, be of good cheer : for I believe God, that it shall be even as it was told me.

26. Howbeit we must be cast on a certain island.

27. But when the fourteenth night was come, as WE were driven up and down in the Adriatic sea, about midnight the shipmen deemed that they drew near to some country ;

28. And sounded, and found it twenty fathoms : and when they had gone a little further, they sounded again, and found it fifteen fathoms.

29. Then fearing lest WE should have fallen upon

rocks, they cast four anchors out of the stern, and prayed for the day to come.

ACTS xxvii. 30. And as the shipmen were about to flee out of the ship, when they had let down the boat into the sea, under colour as though they would have cast anchors out of the foreship,

31. Paul said to the centurion and to the soldiers, Except these men abide in the ship, ye cannot be saved.

32. Then the soldiers cut off the ropes of the boat, and let her fall off.

33. And while the day was coming on, Paul besought them all to take meat, saying, This day is the fourteenth day that ye have tarried and continued fasting, — having taken nothing in the way of regular meals.

34. Wherefore I pray you to take some meat: for this is in favour of your preservation: for there shall not an hair fall from the head of any of you.

35. And when he had thus spoken, he took bread, and gave thanks to God in presence of them all: and when he had broken it, he began to eat.

36. Then were they all of good cheer, and they also took some meat.

37. And we were in all in the ship two hundred threescore and sixteen souls.

38. And when they had eaten enough, they lightened the ship, and cast out the wheat (vid. v. 6.) into the sea.

39. And when it was day, they knew not the land: but they discovered a certain creek with a shore, into the which they were minded, if it were possible, to thrust in the ship.

40. And cutting away the anchors they let them go into the sea, and loosed the rudder bands, and

hoisted up the mainsail to the wind, and made toward shore.

ACTS xxvii. 41. And falling into a place where two seas met, they ran the ship aground; and the forepart stuck fast, and remained unmoveable, but the hinder part was broken with the violence of the waves.

42. And the soldiers' counsel was to kill the prisoners, lest any of them should swim out, and escape.

43. But the centurion, willing to save Paul, kept them from their purpose; and commanded that they which could swim should cast themselves first into the sea, and get to land:

44. And the rest, some on boards, and some on broken pieces of the ship. And so it came to pass, that all who were on board escaped safe to land.

xxviii. 1. And when they were escaped, then they knew that the island was called Melita, now Malta. *Vide* MALTA in the Index.

2. And the barbarous people

— so called only from their foreign language, as being of Phœnician origin —

showed us no little kindness: for they kindled a fire, and received us all, because of the present rain, and because of the cold.

3. And when Paul had gathered a bundle of sticks, and laid them on the fire, there came a viper out of the heat, and fastened on his hand.

4. And when the barbarians saw the venomous beast hang on his hand, they said among themselves, No doubt this man is a murderer, whom, though he hath escaped the sea, yet vengeance suffereth not to live.

5. And he shook off the beast into the fire, and felt no harm.

6. Howbeit they looked when he should have swollen,

or fallen down dead suddenly : but after they had looked a great while, and saw no harm come to him, they changed their minds, and said that he was a god.

ACTS xxviii. 7. In the same quarters were possessions of the chief man (*i. e.* governor) of the island, whose name was Publius ; who received us, and lodged us three days courteously.

8. And it came to pass that the father of Publius lay sick of a fever and of a bloody flux : to whom Paul entered in, and prayed, and laid his hands on him, and healed him.

9. So when this was done, others also, which had diseases in the island, came, and were healed :

10. Who also honoured us with many honours ; and when we departed, they laded us with such things as were necessary

11. And after three months we departed in a ship of Alexandria, which had wintered in the isle, whose sign was Castor and Pollux.

12. And landing at Syracuse, we tarried there three days.

13. And from thence we fetched a compass, and came to Rhegium ; and after one day the south wind blew, and we came the next day to Puteoli :

14. Where (without expecting it, *vide* NOTE on xxi. 4.) we found brethren, and were desired to tarry with them seven days : and then we went toward Rome.

— To which city the tidings of Paul's arrival on the coast had been immediately carried.

15. And from thence, when the brethren heard of us, they came to meet us as far as Appii Forum, and The Three Taverns : whom when Paul saw, he thanked God, and took courage.

How beautifully does all this, in point of realised fact, correspond with those auspicious beginnings of the gospel, to which, by the salutations in Rom. ch. xvi., such distinct evidence is borne. *Vide* here on A. xx. 3. p. 69.

ACTS xxviii. 16. And when we came to Rome, the centurion delivered the other prisoners to the captain of the guard : but Paul was allowed to dwell by himself with the soldier who guarded him.

— He was bound to that soldier by a single chain, EPH. vi. 19, 20. H. P. 130.

17. And it came to pass, that after three days Paul called the chief of the Jews together : and when they were come together, he said unto them, Men and brethren, though I have committed nothing against the people, or customs of our fathers, yet was I delivered prisoner from Jerusalem into the hands of the Romans.

18. Who, when they had examined me, would have let me go, because there was no cause of death in me.

19. But when the Jews spake against it, I was constrained to appeal unto Cesar ; not that I had aught to accuse my nation of.

20. For this cause therefore have I called for you, to see you and to speak with you : because that for the hope of Israel (in the promised Messiah) I am bound with this chain.

21. And they said unto him, We neither received letters out of Judea concerning thee, neither any of the brethren that came showed or spake any harm of thee.

22. But we desire to hear of thee what thou thinkest : for as concerning this sect (that of Christians), we know that it is every where spoken against.

23. And when they had appointed him a day, there

came many to him into his lodging ; to whom he expounded and testified the kingdom of God, persuading them concerning Jesus (as being the Messiah), both out of the law of Moses, and out of the prophets, from morning till evening.

ACTS xxviii. 24. And some believed the things which were spoken, and some believed not.

25. And when they agreed not among themselves, they departed, after that Paul had spoken one word, Well spake the Holy Ghost by Esaias the Prophet (Is. vi. 9.) unto our fathers,

26. Saying, Go unto this people, and say, Hearing ye shall hear, and shall not understand ; and seeing ye shall see, and not perceive :

27. For the heart of this people is waxed gross, and their ears are dull of hearing, and their eyes have they closed ; lest they should see with their eyes, and hear with their ears, and understand with their heart, and should be converted, and I should heal them.

28. Be it known therefore unto you, that the salvation of God is sent unto the Gentiles, and that they will hear it.

29. And when he had said these words, the Jews departed, and had great reasoning among themselves.

30. And Paul dwelt two whole years in his own hired house, and received all that came in unto him,

— with a freedom of access, such as that enjoyed for the two years at Cesarea, xxiv. 23. 27.

31. Preaching the kingdom of God, and teaching those things which concern the Lord Jesus Christ, with all confidence, no man forbidding him.

PAUL AT ROME,

the prisoner of Jesus Christ for the Gentiles...and their ambassador in bonds. EPH. iii. 1., vi. 20., and H. P. 143...6.

The materials of sacred history must henceforth be drawn from the remaining epistles, themselves as the principal matter investigated, and directly or indirectly supplying all other information.

And first of those four written from Rome, that to the EPHESIANS, with those to the COLOSSIANS and PHILEMON ; and, lastly, that to the PHILIPPIANS, at some interval from the others.

The epistle to the EPHESIANS, commonly so entitled, for reasons of the strongest and clearest kind, which may be read in H. P. pp. 125...8., is to be considered as "a circular epistle, equally intended for several communities of Asia Minor," and certainly not for Ephesus alone, as it stands now inscribed. On the ground of that persuasion, we may without scruple proceed.

Since the time, ACTS xx. 17., that Paul himself last visited Lydian Asia (as Dr. Paley calls it, H. P. 37.), it might be supposed, that his knowledge of what was passing in those regions must have been very much interrupted, and the exercise of his apostolic influence greatly diminished. Quite otherwise, apparently. Whether lately at Cesarea or now at Rome a prisoner, in the distant East or the remote West, the "daily care of all the churches" (2 COR. xi. 28.) never seems with him to have known any respite. And if this Epistle to the EPHESIANS, so called, really was a circular, first addressed to Laodicea, then to Hierapolis perhaps, (COLOSS. iv. 13.) and so on to other neighbouring

societies of believers, it must be allowed to demonstrate a very lively interest kept up with all that part of Asia.

The Epistle to the **COLOSSIANS** next demands our attention. Sent from Rome by the same messenger, Tychicus, who carried that to the **EPHESIANS** so called, while on the one hand it indicates the apostle to be personally unknown to the church at Colossæ, on the other, and unlike that which bore it company, it is distinctly seen to be addressed to one church alone, and directly so from the first.

That epistle to the **ROMANS** does not present at its conclusion stronger proofs of individuality as to the city addressed, than this to Colossæ exhibits in its (iv.) last chapter ; which from v. 7. to the end beautifully tells us, by what devoted friends, Colossians, or by report well known to the Colossians, the apostle was now attended at Rome.

COLOSS. iv. 7. All my state shall Tychicus declare unto you,

— already known as one of Paul's companions in travel, **A. xx. 4.** —

who is a beloved brother, and a faithful minister and fellow-servant in the Lord :

8. Whom I have sent unto you for the same purpose, that he might know your estate, and comfort your hearts ;

9. With Onesimus (the converted slave of Philemon), a faithful and beloved brother, who is one of you. They shall make known unto you all things which are done here.

10. Aristarchus my fellow-prisoner

— probably so at the time by voluntary affection, but vide **H. P. 192.** Note. —

saluteth you, and Marcus (now deeply attached to him), sister's son to Barnabas, (touching whom ye received commandments : if he come unto you — on a mission from me ere long — receive him kindly ;)

COLOSS. iv. 11. And Jesus, which is called Justus, who are of the circumcision.

— This Justus, therefore, must have been different from the Corinthian so named, A. xviii. 6, 7., who was a Gentile convert. —

These last-named persons, and these alone, of the circumcision — he remarks it with sorrow — are my fellow-workers unto the kingdom of God, which have been a comfort unto me.

12. Epaphras,

— then recently employed as messenger between Rome and Colossæ, i. 7, 8. —

who is one of you, a servant of Christ, saluteth you, always labouring fervently for you in prayers, that ye may stand perfect and complete in all the will of God.

13. For I bear him record, that he hath a great zeal for you, and them that are in Laodicea, and them in Hierapolis.

14. Luke, the beloved physician,

— during the two years at Rome, A. xxviii. 30., the personal attendant of Paul —

and Demas

— who at a later period, 2 TIM. iv. 10., forsook him — greet you.

15. Salute the brethren which are in Laodicea, and Nymphas, and the church which is in his house.

16. And when this epistle is read among you, cause that it be read also in the church of the Laodiceans ; and that ye likewise read the epistle from Laodicea.

— The “epistle *from* Laodicea” was an epistle sent by Paul to that church, and from them to be trans-

mitted to Colossæ. Why might it not be that to the Ephesians so called? H. P. 128, 9.

COLOSS. iv. 17. And say to Archippus,
— “our fellow-soldier,” PHILEM. ver. 2., *i. e.* “Soldier of Jesus Christ,” 2 TIM. ii. 3. —

Take heed to the ministry which thou hast received in the Lord, that thou fulfil it.

18. The salutation by the hand of me Paul. Remember my bonds — they are worn for your sake. Grace be with you. Amen.

Written — and this is one of the few correct subscriptions, H. P. 195. — from Rome to the Colossians by Tychicus and Onesimus.

These two epistles, to the EPHESIANS and to the COLOSSIANS, although differing in some essential circumstances both of a local and personal nature, yet “import to be two letters written by the same person, at, or nearly at, the same time, and upon the same subject, and to have been sent by the same messenger.” And “every thing” accordingly “in the sentiments, order, and diction of the two writings,” as Dr. Paley, with great abundance of proof, has demonstrated, “corresponds with what might be expected from this circumstance of identity or cognation in their original.” H. P. 108...125.

The short but exquisite epistle to PHILEMON (himself a Colossian, H. P. 190, 1.) as a natural pendant follows that to the COLOSSIANS, and has like that the name of Timothy in the superscription. It was sent at the same time to the same place by his recovered slave Onesimus (COLOSS. iv. 7...9.) who bore Tychicus company on that errand.

On the same or nearly the same persons being joined

in Paul's salutation to the individual as to the church at Colossæ, the remarks of Dr. Paley are, as usual, exact and satisfactory. H. P. 191, 2.

EPISTLE TO THE PHILIPPIANS.

“ Our epistle purports to have been written near the conclusion of St. Paul's imprisonment at Rome, and after a residence in that city of considerable duration.” H. P. 139, 40., all which is made out by Dr. Paley, with his usual acuteness and sagacity.

In like manner it appears that the supply which the Philippians were accustomed to send for the apostle's subsistence and relief, had been lately delayed from the want of opportunity, and that Epaphroditus, under grievous sickness, and at the peril of his life, had now conveyed their liberality to Rome. H. P. 133, 4.

But much more than this is seen in the apostle's own retrospect ; which on the limited scale of the Acts could not there be told. Their early munificence, unexampled from any other body of Christian brethren (nor would he from those elsewhere accept pecuniary aid), had followed him, it seems, first to Thessalonica once and again during his stay in that city, PHILIP. iv. 15, 16., and afterwards, when he had departed out of Macedonia, probably to Athens, certainly to Corinth. H. P. 136, 7.

On the perusal of this epistle, it has been justly remarked, that the Philippians should seem not to have afforded a single subject of complaint. In the absence, then, of all censure or rebuke from the pen of the apostle, and with the strong testimony borne (“ with

joy") to the goodness of their disposition, the question may naturally arise : how came the church of Philippi thus to appear the most pure, the most affectionate, the most generous of all the churches in that day ?

To one great peculiarity in the circumstances of Philippi we may fairly, in the first place, attribute some effect in producing their marked superiority as a Christian church : Philippi was exempt from a Jewish population.

In that city, it is quite clear from A. xvi. 13. that there was no synagogue, and of course therefore but a very small number of Jews. At the *Proseucha* or place of prayer on the sabbath, "the women" only "which resorted there," are mentioned. And Lydia, the devout Gentile, with her household, is specified in a manner that seems to indicate one person amongst a few of the same kind. At the close of the chapter, v. 40., "the brethren" could not be many : they all met in "the house of Lydia."

From these considerations, we are at liberty to infer, that the Philippians were free from persecuting Jews, and from converts of a Judaising spirit. Nor does the brief and general caution given in iii. 2, 3. to "beware of the concision," as he calls circumcision by way of contempt, at all necessitate a different supposition. The neighbourhood, or no great distance, of Thessalonica and even of *Beræa*, might well justify some apprehension of such danger, if bigots or false brethren from either of those places occasionally visited Philippi.

Upon this view of the subject I am inclined to interpret what the apostle says, when he addresses the Philippian believers, ii. 15., as being "in the midst of a crooked and perverse generation," or when he bids them, i. 27, 8., "strive together for the faith of the gospel, and in nothing be terrified by your adversaries,"

that is, the Judaizing Christians. And to those false and unworthy professors also, not as found at Philippi, but elsewhere, the apostle seems clearly to refer, when he appeals to his own former description of them in these solemn words.

PHILIP. iii. 18. For many walk, of whom I have told you often, and now tell you even weeping, that they are the enemies of the cross of Christ :

19. Whose end is destruction, whose God is their belly, whose glory is in their shame, who mind earthly things,

But this exemption from the persecution of Jews or from their Judaizing spirit when nominal Christians, however advantageous it might be to the domestic peace and pure faith of the Philippian church, will leave the moral superiority of the converts there still unexplained. Nor will it be adequately accounted for, if we remark however truly the absence of Greek philosophy and Greek vices alike from Philippi. That consideration alone did not protect the converts in Galatia, chiefly consisting of rude Gentiles, from the severity of apostolic remonstrance (GAL. iv. 14...26.) against all the grosser works of the flesh ; to which, therefore, it is very clear, those Galatians were by habit and nature abundantly prone.

In addressing other churches, whether at Thessalonica, or at Corinth, or in Asia, or at Rome, (1 THESS. iv. 1...8. 1 COR. v. 11., vi. 9...11. EPH. v. 1...18. ROM. vi. 19. and elsewhere,) the apostle strongly refers to the past state, if yet it was past, of low immorality, as well as of religious blindness, in which the gospel had found them.

With language like this, the style in which he gene-

rally speaks to others, only contrast the following peroration to the PHILIPPIANS :

iv. 8. " Finally, brethren, whatsoever things are true, whatsoever things are honest, whatsoever things are just, whatsoever things are pure, whatsoever things are lovely, whatsoever things are of good report ; if there be any virtue, and if there be any praise, think on these things."

Can one fail to discover here a tone of address, in the diction as well as in the topics, totally unlike what is to be read any where else ? The Philippians are appealed to, it is evident, on the ground of moral sentiments which they antecedently cherished and acknowledged. The gospel had found them already " showing the work of the law written in their hearts, and doing by nature the things contained in the law." Rom. ii. 14, 15.

In whatever degree the inference here contended for is conceded, the question will arise : from whence this moral superiority, this higher standard of recognised duties ? I answer briefly : from the origin of the Philippians, as Roman colonists, as descendants, that is, of the simple and unvitiated rural population of Italy. They were descended from Sabine or Apulian countrymen, or from others of congenial blood ; who, after the successes of Julius and Augustus Cæsar, had lost by confiscation their paternal lands to enrich the veterans of the conqueror, and had been themselves transplanted into the colonies of Philippi and Dyrrachium. The fact itself is well known on the authority, oft quoted, of Dio Cassius, LI. 4.

Now, if ever the natural virtues had a lodging in the human breast, the rural population of that country which was destined to subdue the nations of the earth, must be allowed to have afforded it : rather, let me say,

the moral excellence of ancient Rome was the great instrument, under the direction of an over-ruling Providence, by which the world itself was conquered. On this interesting subject, the distinct impressions of my mind have been recorded also in another place.*

Briefly then, it was from such a parentage of virtuous exiles, that the Philippians inherited that simplicity, probity, and purity of manners, to which the singular exhortation of Paul to the Philippians, iv. 8., is indebted for its explanation at once and its truth.

Before concluding this notice of the epistle, we may observe, that Paul, having as yet no certain prescience of what awaited him, thought it best to send back Epaphroditus, immediately, ii. 25., and expressed his hope, v. 23., presently to send TIMOTHY also; while in the strong expectation of early deliverance, the apostle trusted, v. 24., he should himself visit them shortly. The more favourable supposition was realised in his being soon after set free; and in consequence of that event, he appears to have detained Timothy along with him to be his coadjutor now in certain intermediate designs, which will be seen in the course of these pages.

Nor may it be omitted, that the absence of LUKE's name from the salutation to the Philippians by whom he was so well known, indicates the later date of this epistle. Luke was with Paul at the time of writing that to the Colossians. Where he now might be, and in what task occupied, shall form the subject of a separate dissertation. Appendix E.

* Horatius Restitutus. 1837. (pp. 108...110.)

Of Paul's liberation from his first imprisonment at Rome, which terminated his long persecution by the Jews, nothing particular is known, beyond the fact itself ; except the probability, that he was indebted for his deliverance to the intercession of some excellent man in the palace of the Emperor — an inference naturally enough founded on the following texts :

PHILIP. i. 12. The things which have happened unto me, have fallen out rather unto the furtherance of the gospel ;

13. So that my bonds in Christ are manifest in all the palace, and in all other places.

iv. 22. All the saints salute you, chiefly they that are of Cesar's household.

And here ends the Second Part of this work.

PART III.

THE FOURTH AND LAST APOSTOLIC PROGRESS,
FROM ROME TO ROME AGAIN.

And now after two years at Cæsarea, after a long and dangerous voyage, and after two years at Rome, the prisoner of Jesus Christ for the Gentiles is set free from Jewish persecution.

PAUL is once more at liberty.

Before we advance to the next stage of the sacred narrative in such intelligence as may be elicited from investigating the two Epistles, the first to TIMOTHY, and that to TITUS; let us briefly review what appears to have been the situation at this time of those the three principal parties concerned.

The apostle then, once more a free man, is to be considered as under the promise or declared wish and intention to visit Colossæ, PHILEM. ver. 22., and afterwards Philippi, PHIL. i. 25, 6. Vide H. P. 168, 9. And Timothy now with him, PHIL. i. 1., of course is prepared to go wherever duty may call, with his beloved and venerated friend.

Of Titus, whose name no where is mentioned during Paul's imprisonment at Rome, it appears highly probable at least; that as he was sent by the apostle from Philippi to Corinth, 2 COR. viii. 17., and clearly did not form one of his company, A. xx. 4., when departing from that city, he must have staid at Corinth purposely and by appointment, as on a scene of spiritual usefulness, where he both felt great affection for the

brethren, and was in return on all accounts personally honoured by them; 2 Cor. viii. 16, 17. 23.

It is important to remark, that between the two sister Epistles (1 TIM. and TIT.) which we now proceed to investigate, a great visible affinity not only obtains in the subject of the letters, but extends very often to the phrases and expressions in both. H. P. 186. And the most natural account which can be given of the many such resemblances pointed out by Dr. Paley, "is to suppose, that the two epistles were written nearly at the same time, and while the same ideas and phrases dwelt in the writer's mind."

Dr. Paley goes on to show, that certain notes of time also extant in the two epistles distinctly favour that supposition, p. 188. Whatever proof therefore is adduced to establish the date of the one, equally tends to fix within a short interval that of the other epistle. And in placing the date of 1 TIM. at a period subsequent to Paul's first imprisonment at Rome, I entirely concur with Dr. Paley, H. P. 167., as he follows Bishop Pearson, whose arguments there referred to, p. 168., carry to my mind the force of complete demonstration.

If both the epistles then were written subsequently to that period of time with which the Acts of the Apostles terminate, or if we may be allowed to assume it so, till the assumption work itself clear through a stream of consistent circumstances; the narrative, constructed on what Dr. Paley, H. P. 189., calls an "hypothetic journey," may thus be traced in all its stages along.

Paul then with the faithful Timothy is ready for that journey first into Asia and then into Macedonia, to which the apostle, in the event of his liberation, was in some measure pledged. But a third person, is wanted

for the next stage of our progress, the "partner and fellow-helper Titus," 2 Cor. viii. 23. ; and from the frequent intercourse between Corinth and Rome, amongst other strangers who came on that pious errand, why might not he too very easily visit Paul, towards the close of his imprisonment ?

Whatever cause, now lost beyond conjecture, had first planted the gospel in the isle of Crete (Jews certainly were there, A. ii. 11.), if the great apostle was only once acquainted with a door being there opened to him of the Lord (2 Cor. ii. 12.) what follows may easily be imagined. Instead of sailing away directly to Ephesus, the holy triumvirate took their departure for that island. The rest follows of course. Paul would soon accomplish the formation of some churches and the establishment of others in the faith. And as Timothy, we know, was destined for high services elsewhere, the episcopal labour of carrying on what the apostle had begun, was committed to Titus not the least excellent of his many coadjutors in the gospel.

Leaving Titus for a while in Crete, and taking Timothy along with him, on their arrival in Asia, Paul would naturally make good his promise, PHILEM. ver. 22., and visit Colossæ ; while of his kind reception at Ephesus

— PAUL at EPHEBUS the *third* time —

by Onesiphorus a fellow-labourer in the vineyard, and of Timothy's being there to witness it, we are explicitly informed by the apostle himself at a later day. 2 TIM. i. 17.

In the important city of Ephesus a large field had long been open for the growth of the gospel, but not without its thorns and its tares, its vexations and its troubles. Timothy, who would rather have gone to his

favourite spot Philippi, being besought by Paul, 1 TIM. i. 3., to abide still in that city at least for a while, remained there on the difficult station. And Paul having ulterior objects, attended now by Tychicus (whom he would find at Colossæ or elsewhere in Asia), departed from Ephesus to go into Macedonia: but by his usual route of Troas, be it remembered, when lodging at the house of Carpus and there, intending, it might be, to return ere long that way into Asia, he left behind him "the cloke and the parchments," 2 TIM. iv. 13.

Titus then is left in Crete and Timothy in Ephesus, each on a temporary not a permanent commission: and the apostle we must suppose to be occupied in revisiting and confirming the Macedonian churches.

PAUL the *fourth* time at PHILIPPI, &c.

In this state of things, the apostle who had left Timothy under the expectation of his early return, if now at Philippi, is within reach of tidings from the brethren in the confines of Illyricum; the neighbourhood, in which some years before, A. xx. 2. ROM. xv. 19. H. P. 24, 25. he had "fully preached the gospel of Christ." Vide H. P. 77., and also the note at p. 78.

While yet somewhat uncertain whether to advance again into that region, and visit the churches which he had there planted, Paul thinks of Timothy and of his gentle nature now left alone in that trying scene of Ephesus, and writes to him, out of Macedonia, H. P. 188., the first of the epistles so entitled.

First Epistle to TIMOTHY.

And as in that solemn address to the elders of the church of Ephesus, A. xx. 29, 30., delivered at Miletus, he had formerly predicted that after his departing grievous wolves would enter in among them not sparing

the flock, and that of their own selves should men arise speaking perverse things to draw disciples after them ; we may well believe, that even after the apostle's late visit to Ephesus a state of things, in whatever degree corresponding to that prediction, would still impose a very arduous task upon Timothy. It would demand great perseverance for the entire correction of what had gone wrong in the church, and amongst other measures to that end the careful appointment of new and well qualified ministers in all its offices in every department. Accordingly, *bishops* and *deacons* are both specified, iii. 1...12., and *elders* also are separately named, v. 17.

At the close of his precepts and directions how Timothy should proceed in ordaining to those sacred functions, the apostle breaks the subject of his own absence, probably to be for some time prolonged, with great delicacy ; and so prepares him for the disappointment that followed.

“ These things write I unto thee, *hoping to come unto thee shortly : but if I tarry long,*” which he evidently supposes may happen, “ that thou mayest know how thou oughtest to behave thyself in the house of God, which is the church of the living God, the pillar and ground of the truth, iii. 14, 15. And again, “ *Till I come,* give attendance to reading, to exhortation, to doctrine,” iv. 13.

With all the advantage of the great Roman road, the Via Egnatia * connecting Dyrrachium with Thessalonica and Philippi, Paul is now well situated for every purpose of communication with all the parts interjacent ; and allowing therefore but a short lapse of time after his writing the Epistle to Timothy, we may presume, that on gaining the requisite intelligence he has formed

* So in Strabo ; but sometimes called Ignatia.

his plan at once to revisit those Christian communities in western Macedonia on the borders of Illyricum. And the line of his travels is now so clearly calculated, that he can even mark out Nicopolis, near Actium, as his place for wintering, on the coast of Epirus.

In the course of his travels, and under all the circumstances, H. P. 189., Paul confiding in the faith and zeal and wisdom of Titus whom he had left in Crete, writes now

— *the Epistle to TITUS* —

as well to instruct him farther in the discharge of episcopal duties there, as to request his early presence and co-operation at Nicopolis, i. 5. But Titus is directed not to quit his present station in Crete, till either Artemon or Tychicus be sent by the apostle to occupy the office from which he retires, iii. 12.

Titus, when he undertook that journey, would pass through Corinth of course, reviving all the ties of Christian love which he had formerly cherished in that place; and there meeting with Erastus, a like-minded brother, took him as companion to his journey's end. After his arrival at Nicopolis, the head-quarters of Paul for the winter, we may naturally suppose the labours of Titus extended into Dalmatia; for to that country, as to a province under his care, we shall find him, at a later period, taking his departure from Rome. 2 TIM. iv. 10.

During all this time, where has Timothy been abiding? Has he remained so long at Ephesus, where apparently, unless besought by Paul, he would hardly have staid in the first instance? It is not, I think, too much to assume, that by some one of those many arrangements, as that of a special message, at the command of the great apostle, Timothy in the mean while

had been summoned to Philippi, there in his absence to preside over that pure and affectionate church.

After the winter then is past, Paul resumes his travels, taking Titus along with him, and first to the eastward. At Corinth, one of their companions, Erastus, now chose to abide, 2 TIM. iv. 20., as it might be expected, in his own native city. H. P. 177.

PAUL, the *third* time at CORINTH.

But the apostle, after a short stay, crosses, as once before, A. xviii. 19., he had done, directly over to Ephesus ;

— PAUL at EPHEBUS the *fourth* time —

and there “Alexander the coppersmith” did him “much evil :” “of whom” — so at a later day he writes to Timothy — “be thou ware also ; for he hath greatly withstood our words,” 2 TIM. iv. 14, 15. On his return from Ephesus towards Italy, “Trophimus,” he writes, *ibid*, v. 20., “have I left at Miletum sick :” an article of narration, which however simple in itself has given rise to very just and important remarks. H. P. 177. and 135.

PART IV.

THE RETURN OF PAUL TO ROME, HIS SECOND IMPRISONMENT THERE, AND THE CONCLUSION OF HIS LABOURS IN MARTYRDOM.

Neither the duration of the apostle's liberty at Rome, after his return to that city, nor the nature of that offence which led to his second and worse imprisonment, nor yet the circumstances of what he calls his "first answer," or defence, 2 TIM. iv. 16., can be related on any authentic grounds. And yet in the acknowledged paucity of materials to complete this apostolic history, happily many other facts, and some in Part III. already turned to account, are contained in the last epistle which he ever wrote, and that not long before his death,

the *Second Epistle* to TIMOTHY.

That beloved coadjutor we lately fixed with fair probability in Macedonia; and the letter, if addressed to him there, will harmonise in all its particulars with facts otherwise known and apparent. With that hypothesis which would consider Timothy as being in Asia at the time, the principal facts will be found altogether incompatible.

Before the epistle itself arrived with instructions so full and particular, it should seem that Timothy had received his commission generally how to proceed. He is addressed as being already aware of the main purpose

of the epistle, his being delegated to visit the churches in Ephesus and the neighbourhood, on his way in returning from Macedonia to Rome. And in reference to one evil especially, which it would behove him to strive against, he is reminded of the great backsliding that had recently taken place. "This thou knowest, that all they which are in Asia be turned away from me," i. 15. Nothing so probable, as that the Judaising teachers must have been intended by these words.

We have supposed then, that under these circumstances, and at the period of time here stated, this epistle was written to Timothy, then not at Ephesus nor in Asia, but at Philippi, and expecting his instructions there. Let us now see how various subordinate matters go concurrently along with the supposition which we have thus distinctly advanced, or connect by natural retrospect the past with the present.

i. Timothy, from Philippi to Ephesus, would take the route usual with them, by the way of Troas; and from thence when he came, he was requested to bring what Paul had left behind him in the care of Carpus, iv. 13., the cloke and the parchments. On what other assignable plan could Timothy be so situated as to comply with the request?

This peculiar mention of Troas by the necessity which it involves, of a journey of Paul from Ephesus to Philippi, and of another, equally necessary, of Timothy from Philippi to Ephesus, not only affords a clue for that hitherto mysterious message, 2 TIM. iv. 13., but leads us to discover that former mission also of Timothy to Philippi, without which we should be at a loss to know, how he came to be in Macedonia at all when this epistle was addressed to him.

ii. To Timothy, who had soon to visit Ephesus on his way back to Rome, iv. 9., it would be grateful in-

telligence, to hear at Philippi, that Tychicus, evidently no common person, (deemed worthy as he was to relieve Titus in the spiritual government of Crete, *TIT.* iii. 12.) was actually sent to Ephesus, *iv.* 12., and commissioned (we may well believe) to act with permanent authority in that city.

If Timothy had been already at Ephesus, he would have known of the arrival of Tychicus (as Michaelis justly remarks) without being thus informed of it by Paul. Tychicus would have carried the letter.

iii. Of Trophimus's sickness, Timothy at Philippi would know nothing, in the common course of things. By Paul he is made aware that their old and faithful companion had been by him left sick at Miletus, *iv.* 20. *Vide* H. P. 177.

iv. Nor again would Timothy know any thing of Erastus, and of his staying behind at Corinth when Paul returned from Nicopolis ; unless he had been informed of it by the apostle, *v.* 20. *Vide* H. P. 177.

Both names, indeed, that of Erastus and that of Trophimus, are perhaps mentioned, to account for those persons not being with the apostle at the time : their names might have duely appeared else in the salutation.

v. Then too, the notice of "Crescens" being gone "to Galatia," and "Titus unto Dalmatia, *v.* 10., each on a sacred errand from the apostle, would be peculiarly interesting to the mind of Timothy.

In Paul's first visit to Galatia, Timothy bore him company, *A.* xvi. 6. p. 36. : and when the apostle revisited Galatia, *A.* xviii. 23. p. 56., he was his companion again.

On the apostle's reaching the confines of Illyricum, *A.* xx. 2. p. 67., the same faithful attendant ministered to him (*vide* *TIMOTHY*, Index, s. v.) in that first planting of the gospel in those parts ; which was afterwards

carried on by Paul in person, with the aid of Titus, and now lastly committed to the care of Titus as the dying charge of the apostle.

vi. When Paul and Timothy were last at Ephesus together, they both of them enjoyed the kind ministrations of Onesiphorus, i. 18. The apostle had now to relate the recent tokens of his affectionate anxiety experienced at Rome, where Onesiphorus himself was yet staying when he wrote, vv. 16, 17. His household is separately saluted as being at Ephesus, iv. 19.

vii. We have seen that after Timothy was besought to abide in Ephesus when Paul for the last time went into Macedonia, 1 TIM. i. 3., the apostle undertook more extensive designs to the westward of Philippi, than he had previously, perhaps, contemplated. We have seen also in that First Epistle, iii. 14, 15., iv. 13., very strong intimations given, that he might not return by any means so soon as Timothy expected. And the various circumstances (if they have been here truly developed) of his wintering at Nicopolis, of his returning, not by Philippi, where Timothy then was, but by Corinth, and thence after visiting Ephesus, to Rome, clearly show that a long separation had divided those Christian friends, when Paul wrote the Second Epistle.

Well might the apostle, therefore, remember the natural tears shed by Timothy, i. 4., when now so long a time had elapsed since that "dearly beloved son" and he last parted at Ephesus. Timothy's misgivings, at their parting then from each other, seem to have been verified by the event. In this world, most probably, they never met again.

Let us now return to the epistle, and see what farther can be collected from it towards completing the sacred narrative.

The apostle, when writing to the Philippians, PHIL. i. 23...6., was "in a strait betwixt two, having a desire to depart, and to be with Christ, which is far better:" nevertheless, as it was more needful for them that he should abide in the flesh, so "having this confidence," he says, "I know that I shall abide and continue with you all for your furtherance and joy of faith: that your rejoicing may be more abundant in Jesus Christ for me by my coming to you again." And we have seen, where Paul is recorded for the *fourth* time at Philippi, that he did shortly come unto them, as he trusted in the Lord he should be enabled to do. ii. 24.

If such was the tone of his feelings and expectations in the epistle written during his first imprisonment, which then indeed was drawing to its close; we shall find a different state of things with a different style of language in the epistle now before us.

It is very true, that he there exhorts Timothy, iv. 9...21. "Do thy diligence to come shortly to me," and again, "to come before winter:" an exhortation which implies his hope at least that it might be accomplished. Nor would he so earnestly request Timothy to bring with him, iv. 13., "the books, especially the parchments;" but in the expectation that he might be spared, whatever they were, to reap some advantage from having them in his possession. And when his remembrance of the tears shed by Timothy at their last meeting inspires the apostle with a longing to see him once more, that he might be filled with joy, i. 4., a wish like this would hardly have been declared by him, unless with some likelihood of hope that it might be realised.

And yet, if on the one hand, in writing thus, the apostle appears to anticipate his longer continuance on

earth ; the leading scope of the epistle agrees well with his apprehension of that different issue of things, for which it is calculated to provide. Thus, in his anxiety for Timothy's early coming "before winter," and in the desire that Mark should be brought with him, iv. 11., we may see the foresight of the apostle exercised : that they should receive his last instructions and assist him in the ministry during the few months that he might yet have to live.

The very particularity also with which he states the circumstances of several persons as connected with him in the care of all the churches, taken along with the matters of solemn charge and personal instruction to Timothy himself, altogether leave a presentiment upon the mind, that the apostle, if not addressing his last farewell to one so dearly beloved, was at all events providing against the occurrence of his own martyrdom ; if it should take place before Timothy, situated as he was, could arrive in Rome, and find him there yet alive.

If ever of one holy man upon earth on the eve of his departure from it, we may believe that a clear assurance of heaven was vouchsafed to him, we may without scruple so believe of St. Paul ; who had already in beatific vision enjoyed a foretaste of what was to come. And after so many trying scenes of faith, charity, and patient endurance divinely exercised in the service of his Great Master for the salvation of souls, what is it that we read when the close of such a life draws nigh ? Solemn declarations like these of his own sure and certain hope of future blessedness ; as his last bequest of consolation and joy to all those who after his bright example of patience and faith, however otherwise inferior, yet do seek to inherit the promises.

2 TIM. iv. 6. I am now ready to be offered, and the time of my departure is at hand.

7. I have fought a good fight, I have finished my course, I have kept the faith :

8. Henceforth there is laid up for me a crown of righteousness, which the Lord, the righteous judge, shall give me at that day : and not to me only, but to all them also that love his appearing.

16. At my first answer (*i. e.* defence) no man stood with me, but all men forsook me :

— that is, all who by their countenance or testimony could have served him at such a time ; perhaps, some like those at an earlier day (PHIL. iv. 22.) that were “ of Cæsar’s household.”

I pray God that it may not be laid to their charge.

17. Notwithstanding, the Lord stood with me, and strengthened me ; that by me the preaching might be fully known, and that all the Gentiles might hear : and I was delivered out of the mouth of the lion.

18. And the Lord shall deliver me from every evil work, and will preserve me unto his heavenly kingdom : to whom be glory for ever and ever. Amen.

In that day of atrocious tyranny under Nero, we cannot wonder at the apostle’s being forsaken by false or timid friends on the first hearing of his cause : nor can we doubt that on his second defence that spirit of malignity which sought his life, at length gained its object.

What briefly remains, shall be told in the authentic language of Clemens Romanus (Epistle to the Corinthians, s. 5.), who relates, that he suffered as a martyr at Rome under the governors (Nero and his minister Helius). From Eusebius (Eccl. History, B. ii. ch. xxv.) we farther learn, that whereas the apostle Peter was crucified, the apostle of the Gentiles (as being a Roman citizen) was beheaded. In the same season of persecution, apparently, both those blessed saints were crowned with martyrdom, and both entered into the joy of their Lord.

NOTES,

CRITICAL AND GRAMMATICAL.

ACTS viii. 2. p. 2. “good and pious men”—
on this being the preferable rendering, and why it is
so, *vide* Note below, A. xi. 20.

A. ix. 20. p. 4. The true reading here is not Χριστὸν,
which our Version expresses thus...“preached Christ
that he is the Son of God”...but Ἰησοῦν, the *Lectio in-*
dubie genuina of Griesbach. The doctrine, which
Paul preached, was this: Jesus of Nazareth is the Son
of God, the promised Messiah. See xviii. 5.

A. xi. 20. p. 9. On Ἕλληνας, GREEKS, and Ἐλ-
ληνισταί, GRECIANS.

The false reading here, Ἐλληνιστὰς, *Grecians*, or
foreign Jews who did not speak Hebrew, (though it
might be curious to trace by what erroneous notion
that change could ever find its way into the text,) must
be discarded at once, and the *Lectio indubie genuina*
of Griesbach, Ἕλληνας, *Greeks*, be admitted in its
stead, with the signification of *Gentile proselytes*.

At this point in the progress of the Gospel, apparently, *direct* converts from heathenism had not yet been made: and by the words Ἰουδαῖοι therefore and Ἕλληνες, when as elsewhere in immediate antithesis or even as here, vv. 19, 20. in the same context, are clearly meant *Jews*, such by birth as well as by faith, and *Gentile proselytes* who had become worshippers of the one true God.

In the following passages, xiv. 1. and xviii. 4. the word Ἕλληνες, immediately coupled with, Ἰουδαῖοι, and translated *Greeks*, is found to retain the same relative meaning.

But in xix. 10. 17., at a more advanced stage of the Christian history, that word seems to have acquired, naturally enough, the more extensive acceptance of *Gentile converts*, whether they had been, or not, proselytes before.

With a view to this general distinction, highly important as it is, let me remark, that unfortunately the English word, *devout*, in our Version, instead of being used only to indicate those persons, εὐσεβεῖς or σεβόμενοι, devout Gentiles, *i. e. proselytes* to the Jewish faith, has been assigned, as in viii. 2. to εὐλαβεῖς, *good and pious* men, Jews converted to Christianity; or as in ii. 5. where the same Greek word εὐλαβεῖς, *religious* men, evidently designates *Jews* of the *dispersion*, and nothing else.

When however it is said, that in the whole of that enumeration, ch. ii. from v. 9. "Parthians" to Cretes and Arabians" in v. 11. *Jews* of the dispersion and no other persons were meant; let one exception be carefully marked, that from Rome, but apparently from no other place, *proselytes* also were included in that catalogue.

In v. 10. καὶ οἱ ἐπιδημοῦντες Ῥωμαῖοι, Ἰουδαῖοί τε καὶ προσήλυτοι, two classes of Roman strangers are clearly denoted:

“and strangers from Rome, as well Jews as proselytes from that city.”

And here, before concluding, let it be remarked also from vi. 1.

“In those days when there arose a murmuring of the Grecians, Ἑλληνιστῶν, against the Hebrews, Ἑβραίους,”

that *Grecians*, or foreign Jews who did not usually at least speak Hebrew, must have been at that time in considerable numbers sojourning at Jerusalem. Otherwise, there could hardly have arisen that complaint from the disciples or Christian converts, of that class of men, that their widows and female relatives were neglected in the daily ministration; while those belonging to converts, of the native Jews there, were unduly favoured.

The only other genuine text, A. ix. 29. where Ἑλληνισταὶ occurs, will be found at p. 7. in its proper place; and it is there explained according to the signification of *GRECIANS* observed in these pages.

ACTS xiii. 44. p. 17. Here the *Lectio indubie genuina* of Griesbach is, Ἐξιόντων δὲ αὐτῶν, παρεκάλουν εἰς τὸ μεταξὺ σάββατον λαληθῆναι αὐτοῖς τὰ ῥήματα ταῦτα, which justifies the translation given in these pages.

ACTS xiii. 50. p. 18. The original Greek in the *Lectio indubie genuina*, τὰς σεβομένας γυναῖκας, τὰς εὐσχημόνας, corresponds in meaning to the translation here given. Our version expresses it ambiguously at least.

GALAT. ii. 6. p. 24. Raphelius, after Grotius and others, thus briefly and clearly states the peculiarity of the original Greek ; which in the translation here given, is preserved as far as the difference of the languages will allow.

Ἀπὸ δὲ τῶν δοκούντων.] Cœperat ita instituere sermonem apostolus, quasi dicturus esset, ἀπὸ τῶν δοκούντων εἶναί τι, οὐδὲν προσελαβόμεν. Sed interjectâ parenthesi repetiit vocem δοκοῦντες, et subintulit οὐδὲν προσανέθεντο, i. e. addiderunt. He goes on to remark, very justly, that such irregular expressions are of frequent occurrence in Herodotus, &c.

ACTS xvii. 14. p. 44. Our version of the Greek words, αἷς ἐπὶ τὴν θάλασσαν, “to go as it were to the sea,” expresses nothing wrong in the least, if a feint had been practised on such an occasion : but the simple meaning of the original phrase is that expressed in the translation here given.

A. xviii. 5. p. 48. The *Lectio indubie genuina* here, συνείχετο τῷ λόγῳ, by no means presents any obvious or satisfactory meaning. The translation here given of it would agree exceedingly well with the tenor of the narrative : that the words themselves clearly convey that idea, I am by no means prepared to assert.

A. xx. 8. p. 73. The common reading, ᾗσαν, they were, would interrupt the personal continuity of the

narrator: which the genuine, ἦμεν, WE were, preserves.

ACTS xx. 13. p. 74. Πεζεύειν, to go by land, *i. e.* not by water.

A. xxi. 4. p. 78. ἀνευρόντες τοὺς μαθητὰς is here given as rightly translated and explained by Professor Scholefield in his *Hints for an Improved Translation*, &c. 1836. I have in other places profited by the correctness of his remarks, as at xxii. 23.; xxvii. 40. in particular.

At xxviii. 14...εὐρόντες ἀδελφούς...the absence of the article requires and justifies our Version there...“ We found brethren,” *i. e.* without expecting it from any previous knowledge.

A. xxii. 25. p. 85. The genuine text here is, Ὡς δὲ πρότειναν αὐτὸν τοῖς ἱμαῖσιν, which demands the change in the translation here given to it: the lictors or serjeants (A. xvi. 38.), were *they* whose task it was to do so.

A. xxvi. 11. p. 97. Ἠνάγκαζον βλασφημεῖν, “ I did my utmost to make them blaspheme,” is here so translated to prevent what from our Version, “ I compelled them to blaspheme,” might erroneously be supposed; namely, that Saul was successful in that object of his persecution.

In the preceding verse, 10., where it is said, “ many of the saints did I shut up in prison,” κατέκλεισα is rightly so translated, of an act that certainly took effect: there lies the difference.

The Greek of St. Luke in particular is remarkable for its very exact use of the tenses.

Thus in the gospel, v. 6., διεῤῥήγνυτο means only that the net seemed in danger of breaking, as βυθίζεσθαι is rightly rendered, of the ships, v. 7., that "they began to sink." Where St. John in a similar miracle, xxi. 11., has to relate — "yet was not the net broken" — he uses the tense proper for that purpose, οὐκ ἐσχίσθη τὸ δίκτυον: though humanly speaking, in this as in the other miraculous draught, the breaking of the net was what might else have been looked for.

Then again, an error on the opposite side appears in our Version of LUKE v. 2., where the text ἀπέπλυναν τὰ δίκτυα, clearly means, not "they were washing," which would answer to ἀπέπλυνον, but "they *had* washed or cleansed their nets," preparatory to their being employed again. And agreeably to this statement, we find at v. 4. that Simon was ready to launch out into the deep without any delay.

In another text, L. xiii. 1., our Version renders it very exactly where the same *occasional* usage of the Aorist occurs,

ὧν τὸ αἷμα Πιλάτος ἔμιξε μετὰ τῶν θυσιῶν αὐτῶν,
 "whose blood Pilate *had*" at some previous time
 "mingled with their sacrifices."

The *common* use of the Aorist, in simply narrating past events, may be best seen by contrast, when that clearly exists, with another tense. Thus, in St. Luke, ἐπορεύθη (as in iv. 42.) he journeyed, and *after* that journeying something else happened in the train of events:

whereas ἐπορεύετο (as in vii. 11.) he was journeying,

and *in the course* of that journey something else took place.

In the present tense, so called, it is very often important to remark the idea of *incipiency*, of *volition*, of *conatus*, &c. as distinguished from that of *event* and *actuality*.

Thus, GALAT. vi. 12., ἀναγκάζουσιν, which our Version rather ambiguously renders, “*constrain* you to be circumcised,” only means, “would fain compel you, do all they can to compel,” &c.

Thus again, in LUKE xi. 19. οἱ υἱοὶ ὑμῶν ἐν τῇ ἐκβάλλουσι; as it stands in our Version, “by whom do your sons cast them out?” conveys the meaning ambiguously at least: for it can never be taken for granted, that those persons actually did cast out demons. They *attempted* to do so: and that is all that is warranted in the word, ἐκβάλλουσι. Accordingly, we see the drift of our Lord’s question to be this: If your sons, those among you who pretend to the faculty of exorcism, proceed (as we know they did) by solemn adjuration of the name of the Almighty; am I, think you, so void of understanding, as to employ inferior at once and unnatural means for producing that effect? Let the whole passage be read, from v. 14. to v. 22.

Another remark on distinctive usages; and I have done.

Where the notion suggested is one of *inclination* *thought*, *desire*, &c. yet more delicacy is required in the translation, while the necessity of rendering it precisely becomes the more apparent on that account.

Thus, GALAT. iii. 3. ἐπιτελείσθε...having begun in the spirit, do you *think to be made* perfect by the flesh?

ibid. v. 4. δικαιῶσθε. Christ is become of no effect unto you, whosoever of you *seek to be justified* by the law.

After all, however, as on the one hand the English language cannot without periphrasis express such proprieties of sense, so on the other it would be heavy and pedantic in *all* such cases to develope the signification. Only when something important is involved which else might escape notice, does precision like that here pointed out need to be exacted : the *vis directrix* of the context, generally, serves well enough to guard the mind from any aberration.

ARTICLES OF APPENDIX

FOR

THE ELUCIDATION OF SEVERAL MATTERS

IN

THE CONTINUOUS HISTORY.

APPENDIX A. p. 23.

The posteriority of the council of Jerusalem in Acts, ch. xv., to the journey related in the Epistle to the Galatians, ii. 1. 10., shown by the total discrepancy of the two narratives.

ON the strong suggestion given in H. P. 100, 101., and on the ground of those leading objections of incongruity there started, I have myself with great care pursued the argument in several of its principal views : and to my mind the entire difference is now irrefragably established between the transaction recorded by the apostle and the journey to Jerusalem, which produced the decree of the council held there.

The two missions, then, must appear irreconcilable with each other, whether we consider the manner and circumstances of each, or the leading persons in either case concerned, or the objects in each directly proposed and incidentally arising.

1. In the epistle, ii. 2., St. Paul tells us, that he went up by revelation, and that he addressed himself privately, and with much caution, to them of the greatest authority, and to them only.

In the ACTS, xv. 2. 4. 6. 12. 22., we read, that he was sent by the church of Antioch, and received publicly by the whole church at Jerusalem, that is, by the apostles and elders, and all the multitude.

2. In the epistle, Barnabas and Titus are both mentioned as the companions of Paul, ii. 1. : and those are his only companions.

In the ACTS, Paul, and Barnabas, and certain others (more than three), are sent on that mission, xv. 2. No Titus is mentioned.

But what is yet more decisive, the apostles with whom Paul had his conference, were expressly James the Less, Cephas or Peter, and JOHN, ii. 9.

In the ACTS, St. John most certainly does not appear : an omission perfectly unaccountable, supposing him (in the early part of the ACTS) the constant associate of Peter, to have been in Jerusalem at so critical a time.

3. Nor again were the objects of the journey in the two cases less dissimilar.

In the epistle, the direct object was to have Paul's apostleship to the Gentiles as a peculiar and separate commission duely recognised : and that end, as we read in vv. 7...12. was accomplished.

In the ACTS, the question to be settled was this : whether it should be accounted essential to the profession of Christianity, that Gentile converts must conform themselves to the law of Moses. A wise and temperate arrangement was the result. vv. 20. 29.

4. In the epistle, the single question about the Gentile Titus, as the acknowledged companion of Paul,

arose incidentally, and was rather overcome in itself for the time, than productive of any ultimate decision.

In the ACTS, it was the general question, clearly so, which came in form to be determined. And if we suppose the quarrel on the particular case of Titus to have then arisen, and by the firmness of St. Paul to have been then settled against the rite of circumcision being obligatory ; is it credible, that an affair so directly decisive of one principal point on which the council was held, could have been passed over in utter silence by the historian ? Surely not.

These proofs of discrepancy, if taken alone, might establish the irreconcilable difference betwixt the one transaction and the other ; even if no narrative had existed of the rebuke given by Paul to Peter, GAL. ii. 11...14. in the affair of Antioch.

But when that dispute betwixt the two apostles is taken into the account, which, on the supposition of the journies being identical, must have taken place *after* the council of Jerusalem ; then the hypothesis of such identity assumes an aspect of more glaring awkwardness. For on the occasion at Antioch, not only did the question entirely turn upon the lawfulness of Jewish believers eating with Gentile Christians, the very point which Peter had been a principal party in deciding, viz. that such communion of the table might, on certain easy conditions, without offence, be allowed. But what is hardly, perhaps, less remarkable, Barnabas also, one of the very persons delegated to carry the decree of the council to Antioch, would be represented (v. 13.) in that very city either as not understanding the decree or as absolutely in his conduct running counter to it. The rationality of making the rebuke precede the

council, has been clearly seen by some eminent persons, as a Note at the close of this article will show ; and they might have drawn the just conclusion immediately arising, that the *private journey* (here so called) must, in that case, as being prior to the rebuke, have been a separate concern from the *public mission* to Jerusalem, and of course antecedent to it.

Finally, and to wind up the argument, when it is once clearly understood, that the journey related by Paul to the Galatians was prior, say by a year, as it easily might be, to the council of Jerusalem ; let us observe how beautifully then all things proceed in natural consecution and consistency, instead of appearing, as else they must do, retrogressive and embarrassed.

When, on the first of those occasions, Paul and Barnabas visited the Holy City, to all appearance they had proceeded directly to their journey's end ; and most assuredly without stopping by the way, to promulgate what it was their design not to disclose till their arrival, and then only to certain leading persons of the church at Jerusalem.

During that journey, on the contrary, under different circumstances narrated in the Acts, they should seem to have passed through Phenice and Samaria, (xv. 3.) on purpose to declare the conversion of the Gentiles, and to share the great joy which their tidings caused to all the brethren : and when they were come to Jerusalem, they in like manner to the church there openly declared (vv. 4. 12.) all things which God had done by them as ministers of the gospel of His Son.

But on their arrival in that city, we read that the same zealots and Judaising Christians who had previously given so much trouble to the apostle, GAL. ii.

3...5., were ready as soon as ever he appeared, to raise the same angry controversy on a larger scale again.

Providentially, however, by this time both Peter, in consequence partly of that just rebuke administered by Paul at Antioch, and St. James, who must have profited by his report of that striking remonstrance, had learned, on mature reflection, to entertain firmer sentiments; and under divine guidance, by inspired authority now, gave a decisive ratification to articles of peace for the harmony of the church.

NOTE on p. 144. — It is well known that St. Augustine disagreed, much to his honour, with St. Jerome on the subject of the rebuke at Antioch. He maintained, that Paul was justified in plainly reproving Peter, if that rencontre took place *after* the council of Jerusalem, or even if it took place, as he was rather inclined to think (*quod magis arbitrator*), *before* the time of the council. *Epistola lxxxii. ad Hieronymum*, capp. x. xi. Benedictine edition.

Heinrych Bullinger, in his *Series et Digestio Temporum et Rerum Descriptarum a Beato Luca in Actis Apostolorum*, TIGURI, M.D.XLVIII., assigns much too early a date to the rebuke, for he makes it precede the First of the Progresses, in these pages so styled; but then he disjoins it so much the farther from the council, by an interval of eight years, in the *Tabula Seriei*, &c. prefixed to the work.

The learned Basnage, as quoted in Lardner's *History of the Apostles*, &c. ch. xviii. s. iii. on St. Peter, shall here be given at full length: on that one point of the priority of the dispute at Antioch to the council, nothing can be more strong and decisive.

“*Illud nobis verosimilius, Concilii Hierosolymitani celebrationi antecessisse Petrinam hanc in Syriæ metropoli com-morationem. Argumento est disceptatio Pauli cum Petro, cujus dissimulationem obruisset autoritate Synodi, si jam coacta fuisset. Quin immo nulla Petro, et timendi Judæos,*

et eorum gratiâ sese separandi a Gentibus caussa fuit, si tum temporis promulgata fuisset Concilii Hierosolymitani Epistola: quo, veluti clypeo, ad omnes telorum Judaicorum ictus tutus erat. — *Basnag. Ann. 46. num. xxv.*

Dr. Paley, in H. P. 106., timidly, but distinctly, says, — “There is nothing to hinder us from supposing that the dispute at Antioch was prior to the consultation at Jerusalem.”

Before concluding this article, may I be pardoned for saying, that to meet the difficulty started in H. P. 101... 104. as to the decree not being noticed in the Epistle to the Galatians, a more direct solution, brief at once and satisfactory, may be found here in the Continuous History, pp. 29. 35. on ACTS xv. 22. and xvi. 4.

APPENDIX B. p. 48.

On the early date of the Epistle to the GALATIANS.

This address to the churches of Galatia is evidently marked with striking characters of earliness both in the style and temperament of the writing, and in the principal points of its subject also, the circumcision of the Gentile converts, and the apostolic authority of the writer himself. And I refer with much pleasure to the opening pages of H. P. 78...80. for remarks highly valuable in the way of general introduction to its perusal, and as bearing on the high probability, at least, of a very early date.

To my mind, I confess, Dr. Paley's reasonings were alone sufficient to produce that conviction, before I read Michaelis's very able and decisive argument to prove this epistle the first of those extant written by St. Paul. But then I see no advantage or much probability in that eminent scholar's conjecture, that it was written at Thessalonica (A. xvii. 1...10.) or even before he arrived in that city. *Vide* Marsh's Translation of Michaelis on the New Testament, vol. iv. pp. 8, 9, 10. 1801.

A few observations, however, may not be without their effect in contributing to support the date from Corinth here assumed, pp. 47, 8., and against some objections which have been speciously urged on the other side.

1. The passage, iv. 13., has been appealed to : οἴδατε δὲ, ὅτι δι' ἀσθένειαν τῆς σαρκὸς εὐηγγελισάμην ὑμῖν τὸ πρότερον. "Ye know how, through infirmity of the flesh, I preached the gospel unto you *at the first*." It has been maintained, that the concluding phrase ought to be translated, *the first time*, and that it clearly indicates St. Paul to have already visited the churches of Galatia more than once when he so wrote.

I answer, that the words τὸ πρότερον might consist well enough with the fact of more than once, if more than once could otherwise be found. But, then, no direct or indirect allusion whatever to any other visit antecedent to this epistle any where appears in it.

Those words...*"at the first"*...only refer to his preaching while personally among them, as distinguished from his visitation now repeated through the medium of this epistle. And in the following verses,

18. It is good to be zealously affected always in a good thing, and not only when I am present with you.

19. My little children, of whom I travail in birth *again* until Christ be formed in you.

20. I desire [I could like] to be present with you *now*, and to change my voice ; for I stand in doubt of you.

Here we certainly read the apostle's strong wish that he might see them *again*, and in the word itself *πάλιν* (taken with the context) no obscure indication that it would then be for the *second* time.

2. That objection to the epistle having so early a date taken from the address, i. 2., "unto the churches of Galatia," may be easily disposed of.

We find only *the church* at Thessalonica, it is said, and *the church* only at Corinth. Some time, therefore, must have elapsed, before the Christians in Galatia could have formed themselves into separate *churches*.

I answer thus : Galatia was the name of a region having no single place of importance ever mentioned in the visitations of the apostle. As far therefore as *his* progress amongst them is concerned, we may rather conclude that the disciples did not live in any large city. The country may have been inhabited, *vicatim*, in small communities : a supposition which agrees well enough with the origin of the Galatic nation, as traced by St. Jerome, from their language, that of the Treviri (Michaelis, u. s. pp. 14, 15.) and which will also agree well with the *several* churches addressed in the opening of the epistle.

3. The following remark, as bearing on the early date, may have some weight, and deserve some attention.

According to our calculation, a short period only of time had intervened betwixt St. Paul's cruel treatment at Philippi, A. xvi. 23...33., and his arrival at Corinth, xviii. 1...4., the place from whence we think it most probable this epistle was written. In that singular expression then, GAL. vi. 17., "I bear in my *body* the

marks of the Lord Jesus," may we not trace something very like the *recency* of stripes, *στίγματα*, even yet in their scars visible?

And if the singularity of the phrase required explanation when that epistle was received by the Galatians, the messenger from St. Paul, who conveyed it, was at hand to interpret the meaning in all the particulars of the shameful infliction there alluded to. On some occasions, the messenger sent was expressly directed to give all requisite information beyond what was conveyed in the epistle: thus, to the COLOSSIANS, iv. 7., "*All my state shall Tychicus declare unto you.*" At other times, as at v. 10., the parties addressed are reminded of some message previously transmitted by similar communication: thus, "Marcus, sister's son to Barnabas, *touching whom ye received commandments*: if he come unto you, receive him." But the messages so sent (and to these add COLOSS. i. 7.) appear to have borne the character, be it remarked, of *personal* instruction or intelligence, not to have been charged with the delivery of any thing authoritative in a *doctrinal* way.

4. I am duely aware that the text, 1 COR. xvi. 1, 2. (see p. 57. of this work) in connection with that of GALAT. ii. 10. (there also) has been pressed into the service, for giving a later date to this epistle, as if it just preceded the Epistle to the CORINTHIANS.

The identity of that first general recommendation of a charity, in one of those texts, with the particular and exact direction for carrying it into effect, recorded in the other, has been assumed on very slight grounds of loose similitude. It cannot now be maintained, in the face, as I think these pages (already quoted) show, of that real occasion, on which such a direction would be naturally delivered by the apostle; that is, on his

second visitation of Galatia, under a change of circumstances more auspicious to such a purpose, and in part produced by the epistle itself, and when a contribution for the relief of the poor brethren at Jerusalem on a large scale was actually going forward.

APPENDIX C. p. 50.

On ACTS xviii. 9, 10. *Vide* p. 37. also.

The vision, and the thorn in the flesh as connected with that subject.

The thorn in the flesh, that *verata quæstio*, belongs in the first instance to the epistle, 2 COR., as being there, xii. 7., most distinctly mentioned; while it is supposed, with good reason apparently, to have been the same with that *infirmity* of the *flesh*, and *temptation*, *i. e.* severe trial, in the *flesh*, at an earlier day recalled to the mind of the Galatians, GAL. iv. 13, 14., as having fallen under their notice.

Now the beatific vision enjoyed by St. Paul, to which he refers, 2 COR. xii. 1...4., must have long preceded his first visit to Galatia: and therefore the *thorn*, if as a humiliation and chastisement, it came soon after that remarkable event, must also have preceded the visit into that region, and must have continued at least till that period, when they witnessed him actually suffering under it.

But in respect of the Corinthians, the case seems to be very different. Had they witnessed such a visible infirmity when he appeared in Corinth for the first time, A. xviii. 1., there could hardly be any need to tell them of it so very particularly now. Probably, therefore, even before he passed over into Europe, A. xvi. 11., his prayers for deliverance from the affliction had at length been heard. Not a vestige of its existence can be traced lower down than in that notice taken of it to the Galatians.

For be it here carefully remarked, that his being in *presence base*, or humble in look, among them, and the *weakness* of his *bodily presence*, 2 Cor. x. 1. and 10., appear from the context to have formed the *general* character of the apostle, as opposed to the attributes of *bold, weighty, powerful*; whereas the *thorn* in the *flesh*, whatever else that buffeting of Satan was, must have been something in its very nature *peculiar* and for a season, perhaps only an affection under which he was made *occasionally* to labour.

But for a more decisive argument that St. Paul did not labour under it while at Corinth on his first visit there, the following consideration may be admitted, as coming at once to the point. When having at an early stage met with opposition and blasphemy in that city, A. xviii. 6., (and 1 Cor. ii. 3.) he stood in great need of supernatural support; do we find him, vv. 9, 10., relieved by exemption from any *specific* weakness? A *general* infusion of divine fortitude into his whole frame is there vouchsafed to the renovated apostle.

APPENDIX D. pp. 62, 63.

ON ACTS XIX. 22. XX. 1, 2, &c.

The developement promised, H. P. 40, 1., of the transactions, &c. connected with the two Epistles to the Corinthians.

- ss. 1, 2. As far as Timothy is concerned ; and in s. 1. of Apollos.
- s. 3. Of Titus, more particularly.
- s. 4. Of that benevolent contribution of the Gentile Christians.
- s. 5. On the apostle's retrospect of his labours and sufferings.
- s. 6. Original argument against the early date of the Epistle, 1 TIMOTHY.

This epistle, 1 COR., was written by St. Paul from Ephesus, H. P. 36. : and the principal circumstances connected with its history and with that of 2 COR., such as are necessary to make the narrative more clearly understood, may be stated thus, with as much brevity as those circumstances, themselves somewhat complex, will permit.

s. 1. After St. Paul's *first* visit to Corinth, p. 47., and his residence there for a year and a half, the history brings him, and after no very long interval, the

second time to Ephesus, A. xix. 1.: and as he then continued in that city for the space of three years, A. xx. 31. or thereabouts, opportunities of intercourse with the church of Corinth must have frequently occurred. Accordingly we find that some of the Corinthian converts, distressed by matters of scandal which had arisen after St. Paul's sojourn among them, agreed to appeal to the apostle at Ephesus, and for that purpose to consult him by a letter, conveyed apparently, 1 Cor. xvi. 17., through the hands of Stephanas, Fortunatus, and Achaicus.

To this public letter St. Paul writes in 1 Cor. an explicit answer: but having received private intelligence, H. P. 34, 5., of other abuses and disorders, he delivers his judgment, i. 11., v. 1., xi. 18., very fully on those matters also. And the epistle in which all this and much more is accomplished, he seems to have sent to Corinth by the persons commissioned to him in the first instance.

About the same time that the letter from Corinth was received by the apostle, we may suppose that APOLLOS (of whom our earliest account is very distinct, A. xviii. 24...28.), "displeased with the faction" in Corinth, "which had spread under his name," went over to Ephesus for the satisfaction of conferring in person with St. Paul; to whom he then for the first time became personally known. And the depth of that feeling under which he sought the conference, may be estimated by his disinclination, his refusal indeed, to go back to Corinth along with the messengers, though, "greatly desired," 1 C. xvi. 12., so to do by the apostle himself. No schism in the peace and unity of the church of Christ should be laid to his charge.

After this period, no further mention (and never as at Corinth again) occurs of Apollos, till, in the Epistle

to **TITUS** iii. 13., we find his name as a Christian minister under the direction of St. Paul ; with the request to Titus, that he should be forwarded from Crete, on some journey, to Jerusalem not improbably, in company with Zenas the lawyer.

s. 2. Before St. Paul wrote this epistle, 1 Cor., he had dispatched **TIMOTHY** from Ephesus, A. xix. 22., together with Erastus who belonged to Corinth, on a journey (probably by Troas) into Macedonia, to prepare the way for his visiting the churches of that country.

From Macedonia, Timothy had instructions, 1 C. iv. 17., xvi. 10., to proceed onwards to Corinth ; where, however, it was clearly not expected by St. Paul, that he could arrive till some time after the epistle, 1 Cor., had been received.

Now on the fair probabilities before the mind of St. Paul in the actual situation of things when he wrote that epistle, he had formed a calculation which would allow Timothy, after passing through Macedonia, both to visit the church of Corinth on his way back, and from thence even to be forwarded to Ephesus, in time it might be to reach Paul with tidings from Corinth, before the day of Pentecost, 1 C. xvi. 8., the limit then marked for his stay in that city.

Every thing, however, seems to have turned out in the event far otherwise than the apostle, with apparent reason at the time, had calculated. The riot in the theatre at Ephesus, A. xix. 23., after 1 Cor. was written, beyond a doubt occasioned, A. xx. 1., his premature departure for Macedonia. And when on his route thither he had reached Troas, sooner of course than he originally intended, not finding Titus there, 2 C. ii. 12, 13., with tidings from the church of Corinth, " I had no rest in my spirit," he tells us ; and his impatience was

so great, that he hurried away at once into Macedonia as hoping there to meet Titus.

At Philippi (no other place so probable) Titus happily, 2 C. vii. 6., came to him : and in that city, we may reasonably suppose, that Paul, having with successful expedition arrived there, overtook Timothy also, on that favourite spot of their common ministry, before the errand on which he was there engaged had allowed him to set out for Corinth.

(Such is the fuller account promised, H. P. 40, 1.

s. 3. Thus far principally in respect of TIMOTHY. The share which TITUS had in this series of transactions next requires, with somewhat more particularity, to be laid before the reader.

Paul's original intention had once been, as he intimates, 2 C. i. 15, 16., to visit Corinth in his way (the *second* time) to Macedonia, and even to take Corinth in his way back again toward Judea. But from the disorderly state of the Corinthian converts at that period, and the necessity, if he had then visited the church, of exercising some painful severities, H. P. 64., he changed his purpose, but without assigning the motive to them at the time ; and chose rather to try what good effect " a letter of authoritative objurgation " might first have upon them.

To ascertain the result of that experiment, it should appear, that soon after the letter, 1 Cor., from Ephesus was dispatched, he sent Titus to Corinth direct (the mission afterwards alluded to, 2 C. xii. 17, 18.) with instructions, after his errand of visitation there was accomplished, to pass through Macedonia and meet him at Troas.

When Paul on his way to Macedonia, A. xx. 1., as we have seen, arrived at Troas, much sooner than he

had originally designed, in consequence of that uproar at Ephesus; though a door was opened to him there, 2 C. ii. 12, 13., to preach the gospel of Christ, yet his anxiety to see Titus, who did not arrive according to his wishes, was such, that he departed somewhat hastily from Troas, in the hope to meet Titus in Macedonia. And there, to his great joy, at Philippi, most probably, Titus actually came to him.

When from his confidential minister Paul had now learned, that the epistle, 1 C., to the Corinthians, had proved fully effective to the salutary end proposed by it, and had received satisfactory intelligence of their fervent mind towards him, 2 C. vii. 7...9., their sorrow, and their penitence, then, but not before, in his second epistle (written soon after from Philippi, H. P. 166., and sent by Titus as a welcome messenger, 2 C. viii. 6. 16, 17.) he discloses the very deep and kind consideration, upon which he had delayed to visit Corinth the *second* time as he had originally promised: and he thus clears himself from the appearance of vacillation and indecisiveness and even timidity under which he had been content for a while to labour, and to be so much misrepresented, 1 C. iv. 18, 19.

It is important here to remark, that Titus when first sent by Paul from Ephesus to Corinth, had acted there, 2 C. xii. 17, 18., with the same generous and disinterested feeling as the apostle himself had done before: and the readiness which he showed to go from Philippi, on a second mission as the delegate of Paul to the Corinthians, 2 C. viii. 6., justifies the idea, that a truly Christian spirit of affection had filled the hearts alike of him and of them.

And seeing it is quite clear, that Titus did not bear Paul company when he at a later period set off from Corinth, A. xx. 3, 4., we must naturally conclude, that

in that city he continued as the resident head of the church for several years. No opportunity arises in the course of the Acts afterwards, in which Titus could be supposed to bear a part : and we take our leave of him here, till another occasion introduce him on a new scene of high interest, as the companion of Paul from Rome to Crete, and as invested by Paul with episcopal authority over the churches in that island.

s. 4. That benevolent contribution of the Gentiles, which St. Paul ultimately carried up, for the relief of the poorer Christians at Jerusalem, would not only answer its own immediate object ; but, inasmuch as it showed the blessed influence of the gospel spirit in the new converts, must have been eminently efficacious also in abating Jewish prejudices, and in conciliating Jewish hearts towards their Gentile brethren.

The progress of this contribution itself of Christian liberality may be traced with much interest by the aid of the *Horæ Paulinæ*, pp. 12, 13. 19. 54., in 1. C. xvi. 1...4. 2 C. viii. 1...4., ix. 1, 2. ROM. xv. 25, 6. A. xxiv. 17.

The persons sent down from Philippi to Corinth on that business of charity, 2 C. viii. 16...24., were three ; of whom Titus was the principal. Who were the other two ? Perhaps to be found among the seven afterwards companions of Paul, enumerated in A. xx. 4. It is an easier task to point out who they were not.

LUKE is fairly considered to have staid behind at Philippi, when Paul went over those parts, A. xx. 2. His "praise in the gospel," as the writer of that gospel so named, was yet to come : and those words, 2 C. viii. 18., more likely designate some such character as that of GAIUS of Derbe. *Vide* ROM. xvi. 23. and his name in the Index.

BARNABAS, whom Chrysostom, and after him Calvin, assume as likely to have been one of the parties, had been now for some time in a state of separation from Paul, ever since they parted, A. xv. 39.

And as to SILAS, who has also been conjectured, it is highly probable, *vide* Index in his name, that he had very naturally remained in Jerusalem, A. xviii. 22., at the close of the apostle's second great progress. No other account can be given of him as connected with this period of apostolic history.

s. 5. The apostle's retrospect and survey of his labours and sufferings.

2 COR. vi. 4...10.

4. In all things approving ourselves as the ministers of God, in much patience, in afflictions, in necessities, in distresses,

5. In stripes, in imprisonments, in tumults, in labours, in watchings, in fastings ;

6. By pureness, by knowledge, by long-suffering, by kindness, by the Holy Ghost, by love unfeigned,

7. By the word of truth, by the power of God, by the armour of righteousness on the right hand and on the left,

8. By honour and dishonour, by evil report and good report : as deceivers, and yet true ;

9. As unknown, and yet well known ; as dying, and, behold, we live ; as chastened, and not killed ;

10. As sorrowful, yet alway rejoicing ; as poor, yet making many rich ; as having nothing, and yet possessing all things.

2 COR. xi. 21...28.

21. I speak as concerning reproach, as though we

had been weak. Howbeit whereinsoever any is bold, (I speak foolishly,) I am bold also.

22. Are they Hebrews? So am I. Are they Israelites? So am I. Are they the seed of Abraham? So am I.

23. Are they ministers of Christ? (I speak as a fool) I am more; in labours more abundant, in stripes above measure, in prisons more frequent, in deaths oft.

24. Of the Jews five times received I forty stripes save one.

25. Thrice was I beaten with rods, once was I stoned, thrice I suffered shipwreck, a night and a day I have been in the deep;

26. In journeyings often, in perils of waters, in perils of robbers, in perils by mine own countrymen, in perils by the heathen, in perils in the city, in perils in the wilderness, in perils in the sea, in perils among false brethren;

27. In weariness and painfulness, in watchings often, in hunger and thirst, in fastings often, in cold and nakedness.

28. Beside those things that are without, that which cometh upon me daily, the care of all the churches.

The splendid enumeration of particulars, unparalleled as from their nature they must ever be, in both these passages, must be ranked as the very highest examples of the sublime and the pathetic. And since the apostle wrote thus to the Corinthians from Philippi, just on the eve of carrying the gospel for the first time into the north-west side of Greece, in thus recording the summary of his past career, he may seem to have marked, intentionally so, a memorable era in the whole of his apostolical life.

From the brevity with which Luke has narrated some parts of St. Paul's history, and from the silence in which unquestionably other parts are passed over, though many of the particular events here recounted in the epistle can be extracted from the Acts, all of them certainly cannot. But then the perfect consistency of the articles inserted in the one with every thing found in the correspondent parts of the other, has been admirably pointed out by Dr. Paley, H. P. 68, 69...with ingenious indication also to show where, in vacant spaces of the narrative, various accidents and disasters may well be supposed to have happened, or rather in the troubled course of such affairs could hardly fail to take place.

For similar elucidation of the same topic, the reader may be referred to some valuable remarks in Mr. Greswell's *Dissertations upon the Harmony of the Gospels*, 1837. vol. ii. p. 63. in the Note.

s. 6. Original argument against the early date of the epistle 1 TIMOTHY.

We have already stated, (at the beginning of s. 2.) that according to St. Paul's calculation in the first instance, Timothy, after visiting the Macedonian churches, might have visited the church of Corinth, and that, too, even in time, perhaps, to arrive at Ephesus before Paul's departure, as originally designed, from that city. In writing to the Corinthians accordingly, 1 C. iv. 17., he speaks of having sent Timotheus unto them; though he afterwards expresses himself, xvi. 10., more in the language of doubt and contingency, Ἐὰν δὲ ἔλθῃ Τιμόθεος, "Now in case of Timothy's coming," &c.

Here then a word of remark may find its place, in decisive reply to those commentators, who maintain, H. P. 166., that the First Epistle to Timothy was written to him, and when left behind, 1 T. i. 3., at Ephesus, about this very time. Of course, to maintain that hypothesis, it must be assumed, that Timothy from Corinth had actually reached Ephesus, before Paul left that city, although his departure was abrupt and evidently premature.

Be it so then, that Timothy, on returning from his journey to the north, had travelled very quickly to Corinth, and after fulfilling there the apostle's commission, 1 C. iv. 17., to "bring them into remembrance of my ways which be in Christ," had been so well "conducted forth," xvi. 11., as to reach Ephesus before Paul left that place. What is the consequence that immediately results from such concession? Why, that St. Paul must at that rate have received from Timothy (in ever so short an interview) the *very latest* information of the now happy state of things in the church of Corinth; and being released therefore from all immediate solicitude about the spiritual state of the Corinthian brethren, he could not possibly have felt any anxiety or impatience whatsoever to hear the report of what must have been of an *earlier* date, from the mouth of Titus, concerning them.

The supposed arrival, therefore, of Timothy at Ephesus before Paul departed from thence, thus stands utterly irreconcilable with the recorded fact, that Paul, when he reached Troas, was labouring under affectionate disquietude as to meeting Titus there: which painful feeling was unabated, till Titus after all came to him at Philippi, and poured into his heart the consolatory intelligence that all at Corinth was well.

While therefore those other considerations which Dr.

Paley, H. P. 166, 7., has so clearly and acutely advanced, may be allowed, I think, as of themselves quite strong enough to set that erroneous date of 1 TIM. aside ; it cannot be deemed a work of supererogation, if by a line of argument quite distinct and apparently original (as this seems to me) the total improbability of that hypothesis be once for all thus demonstrated.

APPENDIX E. p. 100.

On ACTS xxvii. 1.

Luke, his Gospel, and the Acts of the Apostles.

- s. 1. Where was Luke, when he wrote the gospel ?
- s. 2. The gospel of Luke posterior to those of Matthew and Mark.
- s. 3. Where was Luke when he wrote the Acts ?

s. 1. Of all the eight opinions which have assigned a locality for Luke when he wrote his gospel, (Marsh's Michaelis, vol. iii. part i. p. 248.) Antioch, Troas, Alexandria, Egyptian Thebes, in Achaia, Bithynia, Macedonia, &c., there is not one in any probability at all comparable to that opinion, which would assign Palestine as the place for that purpose, and for the time to write it part of those two years, during which he appears to have been at Cesarea, generally in company

with St. Paul, even if he was occasionally sent on missions elsewhere. We have definite fact for that time and that place, which for no other time and place is even pretended. And as to opportunity for the composition of the sacred narrative, could any scene be imagined more happy and appropriate than Cesarea? Jerusalem was only seventy miles distant: and the intercourse betwixt the seat of Roman government and the Holy City must have been as expeditious as it was frequent.

Then, too, in what other situation could Luke enjoy such ready access to those who "from the beginning" (L. i. 2.) had been "eye-witnesses and ministers of the word?" To James the Less in particular (as well as to others) we are certain that Luke had become personally known; when, on their arrival in Jerusalem, A. xxi. 18., "Paul went in with us unto James, and all the elders were present." An acquaintance, thus begun with that eminent minister of our Lord, he would certainly cultivate by opportunities afterwards.

But it may naturally be asked, Allowing the Gospel to have been written at Cesarea in the time of St. Paul's imprisonment there, who was Theophilus, to whom the Gospel is dedicated? Here again we enjoy the decisive advantage of referring to a real person, the only one known to us by that name at that period; a person belonging to Judea, as having been high priest, who from the time about which he held that office, and from the early age at which it could then be held, was likely enough to be alive at the very date required, and who, as having held the high priesthood, was entitled to the address of rank, *κράτιστε*, "most excellent."

We are indebted to the acute perspicacity of Theodore Hase (Michaelis, u. s. pp. 238...240.) for this most ingenious and highly probable supposition, in all

its principal points. And I am disposed to go farther than Michaelis as to the satisfaction with which we may contemplate it. He, after examining all the other notions which have been advanced upon the subject, declares (p. 266.) of this, that though not confirmed by (direct) historical evidence, it is supported by its own internal probability, and is on the whole more eligible than any of the merely traditionary reports.

For my part, I see no difficulty whatever in Theodore Hase's hypothesis, except it be from a point of chronology which shall be noticed at the close of this section. And I am strongly inclined to recommend its adoption to the readers of these pages, not only as harmonising well with all the phenomena of the case, but as favoured by positive considerations already stated, and therefore as greatly superior to the other hypotheses which have nothing but obscure tradition to rest upon.

As to a high priest's having become a Christian convert, what should hinder it? At an early period, and in Jerusalem, we read, A. vi. 7., that "a great company of the priests were obedient to the faith." In Corinth, several years after, we find one ruler of the synagogue at least, Crispus, A. xviii. 8., to have been so converted. And why should we doubt but that some even of the highest dignity might be converted in Jerusalem?

Note above referred to.

Mr. Greswell, it is true, in his own calculations, or in those adopted by him, having made the high priesthood of Theophilus extend from A. D. 37 to 41, and having fixed the conversion of St. Paul in 37, sees an insuperable objection to that Theophilus having been the Theophilus of St. Luke; since, according to Mr. Greswell's tables, it was he that must have given to Saul the letters of prosecution, A. ix. 1., against the believers at Damascus.

But inasmuch as in these matters exactness now is of very questionable attainment, and since the late learned Dr. Burton, in his *Lectures upon the First Three Centuries*, v. i. p. 88., did not hesitate to fix the conversion of Saul in the early year of A. D. 31 (fixed by Bp. Lloyd of Worcester in A. D. 35), why may not advantage be fairly taken of so great a difference in the estimate of dates and facts? at least so far as to allow a somewhat earlier year to be assumed for that miraculous event. And any year before A. D. 37 being assigned to the conversion, removes the personal difficulty, if after all there be any real weight in it, which lies against the high priest Theophilus being the Theophilus of the evangelist.

And be it remembered, that after all, this defence proceeds on the idea of A. D. 37. as the first year of Theophilus's high priesthood being demonstratively settled: whereas a small deviation from the precise reckoning there also adopted by Mr. Greswell, would serve to solve for us that point of chronology.

s. 2. On the posteriority of Luke's gospel to those of Matthew and Mark.

Without pretending to enter into any consideration of time and date, except so far generally as the order and succession of events is concerned, I cannot but declare myself entirely satisfied with the demonstration so fully given by Mr. Greswell, vol. i. pp. 17... that Luke's Gospel must have been intended as supplemental to those of Matthew and Mark. The reader's attention is for the present particularly directed to the two following instances; which are selected as almost of themselves decisive to the mind on that very important question.

1. MATTHEW xxvi. 51. and MARK xiv. 47. relate that one of the followers of Jesus smote a servant of the high priest's and cut off his ear. LUKE (xxii. 50, 51.)

has added, that it was the *right* ear, and that Jesus healed him.

(St. John, the last of the four, xviii. 10., farther records, that it was *Simon Peter* who drew the sword, and that the servant's name was *Malchus*.)

2. MATTHEW (xxvii. 44.) relates that the malefactors who were crucified with our Lord reviled him ; which is virtually repeated by MARK xv. 32.

Whereas LUKE (xxiii. 39...43.) not only records that one of the malefactors rebuked the other for what he did, but has preserved the dialogue betwixt our Lord and that penitent on the cross.

s. 3. Where was Luke when he wrote the Acts of the Apostles ?

If the sacred historian, as we have just seen, was enabled to make his Gospel supplemental to the two others, by opportunities which his residence in Palestine afforded ; surely also, if in writing the Acts he could have been resident there, he must have enjoyed advantages which no other locality could in the same degree supply.

Now, when St. Paul wrote to the Colossians (iv. 14.) and to Philemon (24.), it is certain that Luke was in his company. Not many months perhaps afterwards, from his name not appearing in the Epistle to the Philippians, he had, on some errand, doubtless one of importance, quitted Rome, and left St. Paul behind him. Again in St. Paul's second imprisonment we find Luke once more, 2 TIM. iv. 11., along with the apostle.

Here then comes the question ; which involves a desideratum equally interesting to all students in this

department of theology. Where had Luke been in the interval betwixt the one attendance on St. Paul and the other?

Not at Philippi: that is next to certain. Not in Crete, or in Ephesus, as the absence of his name from those epistles, 1 TIM. and TITUS, may serve alone to testify. At Troas he might possibly have been, or even at Antioch: but it is a possibility without the vestige of a fact to render it at all probable. As to Corinth, apparently he had never been there; and he was very little likely to visit that city now.

From what is known regarding his antecedent locality at Cesarea or in Palestine generally, it cannot be thought unlikely that he should visit that country again, acquainted as he must have been with many believers and Christian brethren wherever he, "the beloved physician," had gone. Even that consideration would favour the Holy Land in preference to any other region which our conjecture is at liberty to embrace. There too, when writing the Acts, he must have been quite out of the way of St. Paul. The very words at the conclusion of that book, —

A. xxviii. 30. Paul dwelt two whole years in his own hired house, —

Not only show, that the historian and the apostle were at that time absent from each other; but rather indicate also, that they were then in a state of distant separation, without any direct correspondence or intercourse.

Now the apostolic occupation of St. Paul, on his fourth progress, within the Ægean sea, or in those parts north-west of Greece at this very period, would harmonise exactly with the position of Luke at Cesarea or Jerusalem, to establish that relative state of things. That is, Luke if so situated, could know nothing more of St. Paul, than his deliverance from the imprison-

ment: intelligence certain to reach him wherever he then was, as from Rome it would travel far and fast among the brethren every where that believed.

But this is not all. On *our* calculation of St. Paul's labours and progresses, by whom accompanied, and where employed, &c. it is very clear, that, consistently with other facts, the only time which can be allowed for Luke's writing the Acts and for giving publication to the work, must be fixed after the apostle's first and before his second imprisonment at Rome. Not only so: but wherever in that interval of time we are inclined to find a locality for Luke, we must find for him a situation also favourable to his acquiring more historical and local knowledge as to those transactions in the early part of the Acts, than he could have derived either from conversation with St. Paul or from having witnessed what was said and done only by that apostle.

With a view then to answer all the phenomena of the case, in the peculiarity of the time, in the appropriateness of situation, and let me add, in the neighbourhood also to Theophilus, what other supposition has been offered, bearing any pretension to the character of a just hypothesis?

Having looked all around for such a locality, I cannot discover any one else in the least degree probable: I can hardly indeed imagine any other, except that which the reader has already anticipated. In a word, for the reasons here suggested, Luke must have naturally sought the situation of Cesarea, so as to write the Acts of the Apostles, under the same advantageous circumstances, in which a few years before he had written the Gospel. And there also meeting with Theophilus, it may be having even expected to meet with him, in the same place, to Theophilus he properly addressed also the Acts of the Apostles.

From his dedicating, however, those works to Theophilus, we are by no means to conclude, that Luke originally drew up either the Gospel or the Acts with any partial view to the benefit of an individual, however eminent he might be. No doubt, those works were so far connected with his personal instruction, that before all others he might first enjoy the perusal, perhaps confidentially know of the composition, while in each case it was going on. Beyond this, all appropriation of either history to the enlightening of the mind of one person (whether Jew or Greek) is as improbable, *à priori*, as it is void of support from any intimation which internal evidence can bestow.

The entire history of Christianity, from the birth of Christ to a remarkable era in the labours of his most illustrious apostle, was a work divinely vouchsafed and secured as a blessing for all countries of the world. And naturally, therefore, at that day Luke, writing as a Greek for Greek readers generally, has given the least information where in general it was least required, in respect of Asia, Greece, Italy, and the most where it would most be wanted, in respect of Galilee, for instance, and Judea.

The prefixing, therefore, of such a name, whether to the Gospel or to the Acts, must be considered in a far more serious aspect than that of a personal compliment. Such an inscription, if *we* are right in conjecturing that Theophilus in Judea, after once being high priest, had professed himself a believer in Jesus as the Messiah, would give to God's holy gospel especially, to that light for lightening the Gentiles, the highest advantage of immediate authority with his people Israel, which any dedication to man could possibly confer. And we may well believe the name of Theophilus to have been

so prefixed by the direction of the Holy Spirit for the accomplishment of that very end.

Finally, then, after the fullest consideration carefully bestowed on the subject, I feel no hesitation in declaring myself inclined to propose, not indeed as now capable of demonstration, but as possessing the only claim to rational preference on intelligible grounds, the distinct answer here given to the question : Where was Luke when he wrote the Gospel ? and to the second question equally interesting, Where was he when he wrote the book of Acts ?

Let me, of course, be understood not only willingly, but with much gratitude and delight, to acknowledge my deep sense of obligation to Theodore Hase. To him, in the report of Michaelis, u. s., I am entirely indebted for the first suggestion respecting the Gospel : from that bright and happy conjecture, I have borrowed the light which is here transferred, to discover the locality of composition for the Acts also. At the same time, let me candidly avow, that this second hypothesis, whether it be altogether mine or it has been forestalled, does more than merely harmonise with the first, which gave birth to it : it appears to me to lend to its parent in return no small confirmation besides, from the strength of its own separate rationality.

APPENDIX F. p. 68.

On ROM. xv. 24. 28.

Did Paul ever visit Spain ?
That question truly stated.

The plain point at issue, if taken on its early grounds and independently of any later traditions, seems to stand thus :—

Paul, in writing from Corinth to the ROMANS, xv. 24. 28., expresses his design or hope to visit Rome, on his way then projected to visit Spain : this declaration he makes, when on the eve of setting off for Jerusalem.

But when he arrives at Jerusalem, ACTS xxi. 17., which city he reaches (xx. 16.) in time for the feast of Pentecost, he is there violently apprehended, and there detained two years a prisoner at Cesarea, under Jewish persecution.

After a long and dangerous voyage, and when three years or more had elapsed from his leaving Corinth, he reaches Rome as a prisoner, and is there detained two years more.

On his deliverance, then, at the close of that time, and after that length of various imprisonments, it is gravely proposed as a matter for us to believe, and as an event altogether necessary to take place, that Paul should immediately set about to realise an intention five years before announced, not, be it remarked, to any

Jews settled on the eastern coast of Spain, who then might have some reason, perhaps, to expect his coming, and would otherwise be disappointed: not so, but to accomplish a contingent purpose, intimated to the brethren generally at Rome, and that, after the lapse of several years, under a total change, too, of all the circumstances, under which it was contemplated.

Had St. Paul, indeed, after visiting Jerusalem at the feast of Pentecost, and delivering the charitable contributions there, been left quite at liberty to pursue his own preconcerted plans, especially after his declaration at Ephesus, which, as preceding the Epistle to the Romans, shows the early date of that his solemn purpose,

A. xix. 21. After I have been at Jerusalem, I must also see Rome :

On this supposition, we can hardly doubt, but that he might have let even Antioch for once go unvisited at the close of that his third progress, and have sailed away to Rome by the very earliest opportunity. And if that course of events had really taken place, then, we must allow, a visit to the coast of Spain would have been so far antecedently probable, that if, in the records of a year or more, any hiatus of time and action (otherwise unaccounted for) could have made room for it, the execution of that design might have had some right to claim admission into the vacant interval of history.

But, taking the actual state of things as here collected from the Epistles, we find in every fact a clear tendency to the opposite conclusion. Instead of seeking new converts in a land of the farther West unknown, he naturally turns his thoughts from Rome to those faithful brethren in the East, from whom he had been so long cruelly separated. To the COLOSSIANS and PHILIPPIANS, and to their churches, the object of his just affection and anxiety, not long before his deliver-

ance he promises, in the event of his liberation, as early a visit, as he can afterwards by any means make good. In the Epistles, 1 TIM. and TITUS, which, on our calculation, come next after those alluded to, we find him actually to have been not long ago in Crete, afterwards at Ephesus, and now at Philippi, on the eve of an expedition to the N. W. of Greece, intending to winter at Nicopolis.

In perfect consistency at all points with these and other movements, when again from Rome and towards the fatal close of his second imprisonment, he writes, the second time, to Timothy, then probably as we have seen at Philippi; every particular reference either to person or place concurs with the supposition, that his anxieties were all turned to that eastern province which he had recently visited. And thus, by positive indications, it is shown, how the interval between the two imprisonments had been sufficiently occupied; while, by his total silence in regard to Spain, ever since he wrote ROM. xv. 24. 28., it clearly appears, that the project to visit its coasts had long been entirely given up.

The remainder of this dissertation, as of necessity running into matters of critical remark, is here presented in a different form. The general reader may pass it over; the scholar, it is hoped, will find himself rewarded in the perusal.

NOTE I.

And here, I confess, were it purely a question to be decided on direct historical grounds alone, I should without scruple have taken my stand, and regarded the point as fairly

settled in the negative; that St. Paul had indeed at one time intended to visit Spain, but at the close of a long series of adverse events had felt himself, consistently with other duties, unable so to do, if indeed he had not rather abandoned all intention of the kind long before.

Even thus, Cardinal Cajetan, in his Commentary on the Epistles (Parisii, M.D.XXXVI.) when he comes to the text, ROM. xv. [28.]

Redibo per vos in Hispaniam,

determines the matter in a very just and summary way, satisfactory at once, I think, to every unprejudiced mind.

“Dicit quod intendit; sed aliud disposuit Spiritus Sanctus, quandoquidem vinctus fuit in Hierusalem,” &c.

But inasmuch as the sincere feeling of respect is due to the piety and learning of those excellent persons, who have latterly revived the subject of St. Paul's visit to Spain from its necessity for establishing their favourite notion that he might preach the gospel in Britain also; a few pages more shall be devoted to the consideration of the one journey, and if that be negatived, I may without offence reasonably decline all farther notice of the other.

Briefly, therefore, let me endeavour to show under what circumstances the apostle appears to have conceived the idea of going to Spain at all; for otherwise its original rationality might not be justly apprehended. And then, however briefly, the entire deficiency shall be pointed out in that evidence; by which such a design, if it had ever been executed, would naturally have been recorded afterwards.

In the first place, it is deserving of observation, that St. Paul represents himself as in a very peculiar predicament, when he wrote the latter part of the Epistle to the Romans. He had recently arrived in Corinth from that scene of apostolic labour, ROM. xv. 19., in the Macedonic confines of Illyricum, or even in Dalmatia, the southern part of the region so called. And at v. 20. he particularly intimates that he had been engaged in striving to preach the gospel where Christ was not yet named, lest he should build upon another

man's foundation. Now, therefore, vv. 19. 23., after he had fully preached the gospel wherever he could do so without intruding on the province of any other man, from Jerusalem even unto Illyricum; when he had no more place for such labour in those parts, he naturally turned his thoughts at length to a new and yet more distant field for evangelic cultivation. And having for many years, v. 23., entertained a great desire to come unto the brethren at Rome, the apostle now declares, that in case of his taking the journey which he had meditated into Spain, he would see them in the way, hoping for their assistance also to forward him thither.

What knowledge of facts, it may here be asked, and, humanly speaking, what encouragement, could have impelled the apostle, when at Corinth, to think of so extraordinary an enterprise? For the name of Spain, be it remembered, except in Rom. xv. 24. 28., is never once mentioned in the sacred volume; and in that enumeration of Jews at Jerusalem on the day of Pentecost, A. ii. 5., though they are said to be "out of every nation under heaven," strangers from Spain there are none. And yet it must have been in the prospect of finding some of the children of Israel established on that coast, that agreeably to his line of procedure every where else Paul would ever have thought of commencing to preach the gospel in Spain.

Only suppose him once to have known of any settlement of Jews in that country: and their very remoteness and destitution would form, to a spirit of Christian heroism like his, a sufficient motive to go there and offer to them, in the first instance, his "kinsmen according to the flesh," the glad tidings of salvation through the name of Christ Jesus.

Fortunately, then, we possess in the persons of Aquila and Priscilla, early sojourners in Rome, A. xviii. 2., peculiar advantage from that position for their knowing the existence and state of their Jewish brethren on the coast of Spain, and from their afterwards meeting Paul at Corinth, the certainty that he might profit by their intelligence. Then, too, at the very time that he wrote thus to the Roman church, Aquila and Priscilla were once more domiciled in that city; and to

them, his "helpers in Christ Jesus," if he had gone to Rome, he would have immediately betaken himself.

By the kind information of Professor Hyman Hurwitz, I am enabled also to state it as the opinion of many learned men of his nation, that there were Jews in Spain long prior to the destruction of the Second Temple, and that many of the Jews brought by Pompey to Rome had found their way into that country either as slaves or as free men for the sake of commerce.

Thus much for the apostolic journey as originally projected. That is, we are quite satisfied, and readily concede, that after his last recorded visit to Jerusalem, had he not been apprehended there, St. Paul might have immediately set off for Rome; and when he had first been "somewhat filled with the company" of the brethren there, *ROM. xv. 24.*, by the co-operation of Aquila and Priscilla amongst others, he might have been forwarded to some known settlement of Jews on the eastern coast of Spain.

But what is gained by this concession? Does it follow, that under a total change of circumstances when five years had elapsed, he was then bound to carry such a design into execution? If so, some definite time must be fixed for it. After liberation from his first imprisonment at Rome? The sacred narrative, as developed in these pages, forbids that idea. On his return from what is here called the Fourth Progress, and before his second imprisonment? The development of the period connected with that event equally excludes any such supposition.

Waiving the farther consideration of internal evidence from the Acts, which never mention Spain, and from the seven latest epistles which are utterly silent on the subject, let us pass at once to the testimony which authors of a subsequent age bear to the negative or the affirmative side of the question.

I assert, then, without fear of contradiction, that down to the time of Eusebius inclusive, no writer (except it be Caius the Presbyter, to whom the *NOTE II.*, at the close of this, shall be devoted,) can be produced as vouching for the fact of Paul's journey to Spain.

In the very first rank of authors quoted to prove the

affirmative, *Clemens*, long after his own time for distinction surnamed *Romanus*, has been brought forward, as affording indisputable testimony to the fact in question; whereas the famous passage in s. 5., from that Epistle to the Corinthians, if the common principles of interpretation be followed, affords the strongest evidence which all but direct negation can supply, to the contrary.

Here, then, is the original Greek, with the lacunæ in the text, as filled up by Patricius Junius, the first editor, —

Διὰ ζῆλον ὁ Παῦλος ὑπομονῆς βραβεῖον ἀπέσχεον, ἐπτάκις δεσμὰ φορέσας, παιδευθεὶς, λιθασθεὶς,

1. κήρυξ γενόμενος ἐν τε τῇ ἀνατολῇ καὶ ἐν τῇ δύσει,
 2. τὸ γενναῖον τῆς πίστεως αὐτοῦ κλέος ἔλαβεν,
 3. δικαιοσύνην διδάξας ὅλον τὸν κόσμον,
 4. καὶ ἐπὶ τὸ τέρμα τῆς δύσεως ἐλθὼν,
 5. καὶ μαρτυρήσας ἐπὶ τῶν ἡγουμένων,
 6. οὕτως ἀπηλλάγη τοῦ κόσμου,
- καὶ εἰς τὸν ἅγιον τόπον ἐπορεύθη, ὑπομονῆς γενόμενος μέγιστος ὑπογραμμός.

And here is the plain English of it, —

Through bigotry, Paul obtained the reward of long-suffering. After seven times wearing bonds, after being scourged, after being stoned.

1. after preaching the gospel in the East and in the West,
 2. he received the glorious renown due to his faith:
 3. having taught righteousness to the whole world,
 4. and having gone to the limit of the West,
 5. and having born his testimony (as a martyr) before the governors,
 6. he then departed out of this world,
- and went his way to that holy place, after having exhibited in his person the greatest pattern of patient endurance.

Now what I maintain without scruple, is this: that the local designation in line 4. must, in natural continuity of sense, be taken as that also of line 5. And since, in line 5., the scene intended must be the city of Rome, no other meaning in the natural construction of sentences can be given to

line 4. which immediately precedes it. The two lines will then be thus translated, —

4. having gone to the limit of the West, *i. e.* Rome,
5. and having borne his testimony,
i. e. been condemned as a martyr,
 before the governors there.

Or to fix more clearly still the just apprehension of the whole matter : if the Greek words in line 4. were calculated (which I deny) to suggest the idea of Spain from the pen of Clemens, then to prevent Spain from being taken as the locality of martyrdom also in line 5., completeness of sense would demand some addition to the following effect. Less than this would not suffice :—

4. καὶ ἐπὶ τὸ τέρμα τῆς δύσεως ἐλθὼν,
 and having gone to the extremity of the West, to Spain,
 ἐκεῖθεν δὲ ὑποστρέψας,
 and having returned from thence, from Spain,
5. εἴτα μαρτυρήσας ἐπὶ τῶν ἡγουμένων,
 after that having been condemned before the governors as a martyr in Rome, &c. &c.

The objection thus developed, which lies against the *formality* of the expression, as showing that the language is deficient for the purpose, might of itself go near to settle the point at issue.

But a stronger remark, more *substantially* affecting the question, is in reserve. Neither Clemens could intend, nor could the Corinthians understand in those words of line 4. that Spain was signified.

East and West are relative terms, which can only be understood by ascertaining the point of reference in the mind of the speaker ; as that again must be determined by knowing him and his notions on the subject, the notions also of the persons addressed, and even those of the parties who are the subjects of discourse.

Keeping all this in mind, we may fairly ask, When Clemens, himself more an eastern than a western, writes concerning Paul, whose chief labours had lain in the East, to the

Corinthians, whose position naturally gave them an eastward inclination; would those Corinthians, on reading the passage here exhibited, without any significant hint from the context, discover in the words ἐπὶ τὸ τέρμα τῆς δύσεως, that not imperial Rome, but some obscure spot in remote Spain, was there intended? All circumstances fully taken into consideration, I affirm that they could not so understand the language of Clemens; nor if such had been his meaning in writing to them, could he ever have left it in words of such inevitable uncertainty. Spain was very little likely to be known or thought of, on the coasts of the Ægean sea: Rome must have formed the limit of their general acquaintance with the West.

Briefly, then, and to conclude this part of the discussion, Clemens, heretofore the "fellow-labourer" of the now sainted apostle, could hardly fail to determine the extreme points of his travels in the way in which they stood actually recorded. By the terms in line 1.,

ἐν τε τῇ ἀνατολῇ καὶ ἐν τῇ δύνει,

Clemens would probably allude to Paul's own designation,

ROM. xv. 19. From JERUSALEM, and round about unto ILLYRICUM, I have fully preached the gospel of Christ.

And in using the stronger phrase in line 4.,

ἐπὶ τὸ τέρμα τῆς δύσεως,

it is likely enough, that he had in mind that memorable passage of the ACTS,

xxiii. 11. And the night following the Lord stood by him, and said, Be of good cheer, Paul; for as thou hast testified of me in JERUSALEM, so must thou bear witness also at ROME.

Those cities, indeed, we may consider as the two limits divinely marked for the apostolic missions of Paul. *Spain*, after all, was only the occasional object of thought to the apostle: no authority from his divine Master appears to have directed him to any such enterprise.

When I said that to the time of Eusebius inclusive, no writer (except Caius the presbyter, who shall be duely esti-

mated in NOTE II.) can be produced as at all vouching for the fact of Paul's ever visiting Spain; I was aware, that the name of Hippolytus (*Portuensis*) has been brought forward as giving an early authority to that tradition. No one, however, now disputes that the author of the work so quoted, "*Indiculus de xii apostolis*," must have been the Hippolytus who lived in the tenth century: and of course not a word needs to be said upon that subject.

We pass on, therefore, at once to Eusebius, the professed historian of the Christian church down to the year A. D. 324, with a collection of all the principal books then extant before him, and what is remarkable enough, certainly the epistle of Clemens among the rest.

Does Eusebius, then, know any thing of such a journey undertaken by St. Paul? Not an iota of it appears in the pages of his Ecclesiastical History: or rather, indeed, if plain and direct omission can prove any thing, let me appeal with confidence to the following passages of first-rate import; from the translation by C. F. Cruse, M. A., London, 1838.

Bk. III. ch. i. "Why should we speak of Paul, spreading the gospel of Christ from Jerusalem to Illyricum, and finally suffering martyrdom at Rome, under Nero?"

Ibid. ch. iv. "That Paul preached to the Gentiles, and established churches from Jerusalem, and around as far as Illyricum, is evident both from his own expressions, and from the testimony of Luke in the book of Acts."

Surely, to omit all mention of such a fact, on the very occasions where he might have inserted, and from its importance he ought to have inserted it, must be considered as decisive proof, either that Eusebius had never read of the journey to Spain, or never on any authority which could sanction the acknowledgment of his belief in it as true and certain matter for history.

How then, it may be said, can the story be accounted for, which afterwards appears in the pages of Chrysostom, Theodoret, and others? The following conjecture is offered, as showing the probable way in which this matter might originate.

We read in Irenæus, L. I. c. iii., who is dated about A. D. 170;

that "neither do the churches, founded in Germany, believe or transmit doctrines different from others, nor those in Spain, οὔτε ἐν ταῖς Ἰβηρίαις, nor those among the Celts, nor in the East, in Egypt, and Libya, and in the middle parts of the world."

Such is the representation, incidentally given by Irenæus, of churches then as founded in Spain, a hundred years at least, after the period when Paul is supposed to have taken that journey. But as regards the national name, that is expressed by a different word, Ἰβηρίαις, and not by the word in ROMANS xv. 24. 28., which is Σπανίαν. Now this difference, if it be insufficient to prove that the writer's knowledge of what then existed in Spain, bore no reference to the apostle as its author, seems at any rate to indicate, that the writer had not that passage of the sacred text then in his mind.

In the lapse of two hundred years after this testimony of Irenæus, we are certain, that a still wider extension of the Christian faith took place in that country, which must have become generally known to other Christian communities.

From these premises, what may we reasonably conclude, at the close of the fourth century? It is highly probable, that along with the intention or hope once announced by St. Paul to visit Spain, the fact of churches now so widely established in it, would, in pious and imaginative minds, be readily combined, and produce, as a natural effect, the attribution of the whole establishment there to the great apostle as to its primary founder.

Hence, too, a fervent orator like Chrysostom (dated A. D. 398), without any misgiving or doubt, but without such belief as careful investigation alone could justify, would kindle with the glorious theme; and to magnify St. Paul as the Hercules of Christianity, would carry him on, in his heroic enterprises, to the very extremity of the western world. Rhetorical flourishes are in their nature contagious; and what was once oratorically said by Chrysostom, would be echoed and re-echoed by others, without a grain of evidence or historical truth being ever thrown into the scale of its credibility.

Should the great names of Athanasius, Cyril of Jerusalem,

Epiphanius, and Jerome, be objected as of somewhat earlier date and authority than that of Chrysostom, I am duely aware, from a work (of the 16th century) reprinted at Chichester in 1819, by the late venerable Bishop Burgess,

De Pauli apostoli itinere in Hispaniam

Disputationes duæ, auctore Pererio Valentino,

that those writers are there so quoted; and I do not mean to deny that they have in the main been quoted truly. But I confidently maintain that after the time of Eusebius's Ecclesiastical History, mere *obiter* assertions of Paul having gone into Spain are entitled to no serious regard; as having originated much in the same way, in which, it is here conjectured, the mind of Chrysostom might have conceived that splendid idea, if he had not caught it from the suggestion of others.

NOTE II.

On the supposed Authority of Caius, the Presbyter.

In the *Reliquiæ Sacræ* of the learned and excellent Dr. Routh, vol. iv. pp. 1...37., there is given *Fragmentum incerti auctoris de canone S. Scripturarum*, with large annotations from the pen of Dr. Routh, and including extracts from Muratori, its first editor, and from Freindaller, its latest.

That paragraph of the fragment, p. 4., which begins "*Acta autem omnium apostolorum...*" seems to have been welcomed as strongly contributing to establish for a fact *professionem Pauli ab urbe ad Spaniam proficiscentis.*" Those words are decisively so considered by Mr. Greswell, *Dissertations, &c.*, vol. iv. pp. 225, 6.

My objections to the validity of such inference from such authority are the following, stated with as much brevity, as the case will allow, to those readers who have Dr. Routh's book before them.

That paragraph, then, as it now stands, attributes to St. Luke in the Acts a declaration of the martyrdom of St. Peter, for which the editor refers, in the Note, to JOHN xxi.

18, 19., as if that were its verification ; and for the journey of St. Paul to Spain, which also St. Luke is affirmed to have declared, the editor refers to ROM. xv. 24. 28., as if that afforded the satisfaction required.

Now is it possible, let me ask, that he who originally wrote thus, if such indeed was his meaning, could have been himself an intelligent man ? Or if intelligence be allowed in the first instance to the writer, are we not driven to conclude, that the original manuscript must have suffered strange corruption in the hands of its several transcribers, to exhibit such striking signs of error and obscurity as it now does ?

For argument's sake, let us overlook what is thus grossly objectionable, and let us concede that the passage, even as it stands, records an early opinion in favour of St. Paul's having travelled into Spain. What is the whole amount of its value, taken at the highest, at Muratori's own estimate ? but that Caius the presbyter, at the close of the second century, was author of the fragment, and in those words delivered his own belief of the journey alluded to.

Even so much concession of its being genuine and true would still carry little weight in the balance against other facts and considerations, which are here advanced on the contrary side.

But fortunately, perhaps, a clue seems to be afforded by internal evidence at once to account for that opinion of the anonymous writer, and to show the invalidity of its foundation. The editor of the fragment, at pp. 4, 5., on the paragraph which follows that already mentioned, clearly indicates, that he understood the principal epistles of St. Paul to have been taken by the author of it in this order of succession : to the Corinthians in the first, to the Romans in the seventh and last place of the whole !

Therefore, Caius the presbyter (or whoever it was else) if he proceeded at all logically on that calculation to its natural consequences, must have imagined that only a short interval before St. Paul's coming as a prisoner to Rome, preceded the declaration (ROM. xv. 24. 28.) of his design to visit Spain, and that the very first step which he took after his deliverance, would be to execute that intention.

From false premises thus assumed (in common with others, perhaps,) by the author of that fragment, the false conclusion would follow naturally enough, that Paul did accomplish the purpose which, under those circumstances, he had announced. And on this easy hypothesis, with so much gross neglect of apostolic chronology, besides other points of ignorance alleged against him by his own editors, the erroneous imagination of that author may, I think, be fairly accounted for, reducing the value of his authority in the scale to very little above nothing.

And no consideration, let me add, but that of very deep and sincere respect for the names mingled up with this question, could have induced me to bestow on the point before us a serious and continued attention, far beyond what, from its own merits, it might otherwise demand.

APPENDIX G.

Which, from the conjecture on TITUS iii. 13. in s. 2., may be assigned to p. 123. of this work.

s. 1. On the Epistle to the Hebrews.

s. 2. On the two persons who might have been the bearers of it.

s. 1. In the title to his *HORÆ PAULINÆ*, Dr. Paley distinctly says, The Truth of the Scripture History of St. Paul, evinced by a comparison of the *Epistles which bear his name*, &c.; and immediately in the Exposition of the argument, he says again, The volume of Christian Scriptures contains *thirteen Letters purporting to be*

written by St. Paul. The Epistle to the Hebrews, which certainly does not bear his name as the other epistles bear it, is thus excluded by Dr. Paley from that catalogue: which exclusion must, then, have arisen from some want of clear and entire satisfaction in his mind as to its having been the genuine or the direct work of St. Paul.

In his *Evidences of Christianity*, published four years after the *HORÆ PAULINÆ*, Dr. Paley speaks more explicitly. "I allege this epistle [to the Hebrews] without hesitation: for, whatever doubts may have been raised about its author, there can be none concerning the age in which it was written. No epistle in the collection carries about it more indubitable marks of antiquity, than this does," &c. &c. NOTE. pp. 70, 1. Edit. 1825.

After all the doubts, however, and disquisitions which have arisen on this subject, and notwithstanding what must always be felt, the marked difference of style and manner which distinguishes that from the other writings of the apostle; I yet very sincerely receive the Epistle to the Hebrews as essentially stamped with the apostolic authority of St. Paul himself.

That it should wear so much the character of an argumentative discourse and so little present that of an epistolary address, is, at all events, the natural consequence of its immediate object, to reason on the high mission and divine nature of our blessed Lord with the Hebrew Christians from their own sacred books: to which Hebrew Christians, however, generally speaking, St. Paul had become more or less obnoxious, as the apostle of the Gentiles, and the assertor of their evangelical liberty.

The greater part of that class of men would of course be strangers to the person of St. Paul: and yet some

of them could hardly fail to recognise the writer, towards the close of the epistle, when he acknowledges the compassion which they had shown to him in his bonds, x. 33, 4., while at Cesarea apparently, and the joyful contribution of their goods to the relief of his necessities there.

Writing in a situation so very peculiar, though St. Paul did not like immediately to avow himself as the author, yet, from other indications of a personal nature, it may appear, that he did not ultimately intend to disavow it or to conceal himself. Two passages, pointed out as very decisive, are the following : —

xiii. 19. But I beseech you the rather to do this, that I may be *restored* to you the sooner.

—23. Know ye that our brother Timothy is *set at liberty* ; with whom, if he come shortly, I will see you.

But, singularly enough, although those passages might be sufficiently clear at the time of writing, in the present day, it must be confessed, some ambiguity hangs on both of them : for neither does the one Greek word in v. 19., ἀποκατασταθῶ, belong to the phraseology of St. Paul, nor can the other, v. 23., ἀπολευμένον, be so certainly claimed, in that signification, as entirely to forbid a different meaning which the context does not exclude, *being allowed by his friends to depart*.

It may not, however, be impertinent or unprofitable to remark, that for establishing the great point proposed in the H. P., even if the Epistle to the Hebrews had been always received as from the pen of St. Paul, still it could not be made tributary to the purpose of Dr. Paley ; from its being necessarily destitute of those many references to places, persons, and facts, materials, so richly found in the thirteen epistles, to show undesigned coincidence with the Acts. But then this acknowledged peculiarity in that epistle, so long as

other considerations are not wanting to counterbalance it, may not be allowed to carry decisive weight in settling so complex a question as that of its authorship.

s. 2. Out of the notion (first briefly started by Luther, in GENES. xlviii. 20., and lately much favoured abroad) that Apollos might be the author, a different idea has arisen in my mind ; an idea, original perhaps, and yet not beyond the range of probability, which would discover the commissioned bearers of it to the Hebrews in Judea.

In Acts xviii. 24...28. Apollos, we are told, being an eloquent man and mighty in the Scriptures, passed over from Ephesus to Corinth ; and there mightily convinced the Jews, and that publicly, showing by the Scriptures, that Jesus was Christ, the Messiah. It therefore at a later day any man but St. Paul could be the author of the Epistle to the Hebrews, or if the hand of any other man could be employed under his direction to write it, Apollos, it must be allowed, was altogether peculiarly qualified for that purpose.

And for such a sacred purpose, why should we doubt or deny, that a guiding inspiration might be given to the pen of such a writer ?

But, at all events, if to secure for that great doctrinal argument a favourable reception with the Hebrews addressed as such, it was necessary somehow to introduce the epistle in the first instance and try its effect, without declaring St. Paul to be the author of it ; no Christian brother was more likely, with pleasing eloquence and in a conciliatory spirit, to deliver and recommend it to an audience of learned Jews, than Apollos.

Under this latter impression, especially, I have been sometimes inclined to fancy, that we have an unexplained text ready to bear application to that very end. And

if any calculation of time, place, and circumstance, in these matters, would otherwise allow, it has struck my mind to interpret the following words of Paul to Titus, as of much more distinct importance than at first sight may be thought : —

TIT. iii. 13. Bring (or forward) Zenas the lawyer and Apollos on their journey diligently, that nothing be wanting unto them.

Now, as it is very clear that so critical a task as that of presenting the epistle without its writer's name, would never be consigned to any common messenger, we may well suppose, that St. Paul would select the most intelligent of his friends and followers to be authorised and instructed accordingly.

Here, then, we have Apollos eminently accomplished and zealous in the cause, with Zenas the lawyer (interpreter and teacher of the law), announced as on some important mission from St. Paul ; and they are particularly commended to Titus to be by him forwarded from Crete with all possible diligence, more probably, at least, to the coast of Palestine than to any other that can be named.

INDEX

OF

THE PRINCIPAL PERSONS AND PLACES

IN

THE CONTINUOUS HISTORY.

APOLLOS, native of Alexandria.

i. His name first appears in that digression assigned to it, of five verses, A. xviii. 24....28., which carries him from Ephesus into Achaia,

ii. Where after being for some time a faithful minister in *watering*, 1 Cor. iii. 5., where Paul had *planted*, displeased with the faction at Corinth, to which the eloquence of his preaching had given rise in the church there, Appendix D. s. 1. p. 153. ;

iii. That he might be no longer the cause of religious division (1 Cor. i. 12.) he took the opportunity, apparently, of that deputation from Corinth to St. Paul at Ephesus, to pass over into Asia, intending (as 1 Cor. xvi. 12. seems to show) not to return to Corinth for some time at least. Though "greatly desired" by St. Paul, he would not then return, with the brethren ; nor does it appear that he ever did so.

iv. Probably indeed he now remained at Ephesus permanently : nor is any thing heard of him, either there or elsewhere,

v. Till in the Epistle to Titus, iii. 13., and engaged in some Christian service under the apostle ; whom, according to our idea of the Fourth Progress, he might have very recently seen at Ephesus.

N.B. On the name of Apollos, as possibly requiring to be connected with the Epistle to the Hebrews, *vide* Appendix G, pp. 187, 8.

AQUILA and PRISCILLA,
Remarkable Jews of the dispersion.

i. Aquila, A. xviii. 1. ...born in Pontus, afterwards settled at Rome,

But driven from thence with his wife Priscilla by the edict of Claudius, and settled in Corinth, where Paul abode and wrought with them, being tent-makers.

ii. A. xviii. 18, 19. Paul, on leaving Corinth, took them with him to Ephesus; where, after Paul's departure, they had the opportunity, *ibid.* 26., to instruct Apollos in the Christian revelation, which he had known but imperfectly before.

iii. They stayed there till Paul's second visit to that city, A. xix. 1., when in writing to the Corinthians, 1 Cor. xvi. 19., he says, "Aquila and Priscilla salute you much in the Lord, with the church that is in their house."

iv. After that date, and during the interval (H. P. 17, 18.) of Paul's travelling elsewhere, A. xx. 1, 2., there appears time quite sufficient for them both to have gone to Rome and to have been heard of as resident there;

v. When Paul at Corinth, A. xx. 2, 3., in writing to the Romans, Rom. xvi. 3., mentions them with particular kindness. "Greet Priscilla and Aquila, my helpers in Christ Jesus," &c. pp. 68, 9. of this work.

vi. Finally, it seems probable, that they settled at Ephesus or near that city; as may be gathered from the salutation to them, 2 Tim. iv. 19., along with Onesiphorus's household certainly at Ephesus; which Timothy, on his then arranged visit to Ephesus, was instructed to deliver.

When we survey these different movements, in the personal history of Aquila and Priscilla, it is obvious to remark, that by means such as these a very extensive intelligence would

easily be carried on through different parts of the Roman world; while to the intercourse of Christian brethren and Christian churches, that facility and frequency of communication must have proved highly favourable. The readiness with which Aquila and Priscilla in particular moved from one distant place to another, and the thanks which "all the churches of the Gentiles," Rom. xvi. 4., gave to them, taken together, may seem to indicate, that Aquila's working with his own hands, A. xviii. 3., was only a temporary exigency, to a man otherwise not poor and most certainly generous.

ERASTUS, the Corinthian.

The name of Erastus occurs in the following passages,

A. xix. 22. ROM. xvi. 23. 2 TIM. iv. 20.

i. To account for Erastus, A. xix. 22., being now found in Asia, it is fairly supposed, at A. xviii. 18. p. 52., that on St. Paul's then leaving Corinth, both Timothy and Erastus (as being mentioned conjointly, A. xix. 22.) bore him company from thence, A. xviii. 22., to Jerusalem and to Antioch, and so, on his Third Progress, xix. 1., to Ephesus also.

This opinion of the early day at which Erastus first joined the apostle, I now consider as marked with the highest probability: the notion of his having afterwards been one in the deputation from Corinth, pp. 61, 2., is highly improbable.

However that may be, Erastus along with Timothy was now sent from Ephesus by Paul on a preparatory mission to Philippi; and as it appears (2 Cor. i. 1.) that Timothy was still in Macedonia when Paul arrived, Erastus also might still be there. In that case, they would both minister (Timothy certainly did) unto the apostle, during his travels in the north-west of Greece, A. xx. 2., till on his return he reached the capital of Achaia.

ii. ROM. xvi. 23. At all events, when Paul, soon after writing from Corinth, concludes his Epistle to the Romans, "Erastus, the chamberlain of the city," he says, "saluteth

you:" which upon the whole may more probably be interpreted to mean, that he had been chamberlain, than that he was so then. In either case, it sufficiently shows the respectability and rank, which Erastus held among his fellow-citizens.

iii. 2 TIM. iv. 20. Paul here, in the retrospect of his Fourth apostolic Progress, says, that "Erastus abode at Corinth;" which intimates, that Erastus had been in his company, before they arrived at that city.

Probably enough, when Titus summoned from Crete took Corinth on his way to Nicopolis, he was joined by Erastus from thence. And if so, he may have become the companion of Paul when the apostle passed the winter in Nicopolis and preached the gospel in that neighbourhood. TIT. iii. 12.

GAIUS of *Derbe*,

As distinguished from *Gaius*, the Macedonian, mentioned, A. xix. 29., along with *Aristarchus*, and like him, A. xx. 4. xxvii. 2., probably a Macedonian of Thessalonica.

The other GAIUS, A. xx. 4., was clearly a native of Derbe, quite remarkable (H. P. 182.) as the only city in which Paul suffered no persecution or trouble; whereas in each of the three cities through which he had previously passed, Antioch in Pisidia, Iconium, and Lystra, he had been persecuted grievously.

We afterwards find this same Gaius at Corinth, apparently settled there as a rich householder, and denominated by Paul when he wrote to the ROMANS, xvi. 23., "my host and of the whole church." If then he was thus "wealthy and benevolent" in character, and had enjoyed opportunity to hear the preaching of Paul at Derbe either on the occasion, A. xiv. 21., or that of xvi. 1...3., or on both occasions; then might he easily find the means from Derbe to visit Corinth, and settling there be known (1 COR. i. 14.) as one of the few converts whom Paul had baptized with his own hands.

All this becomes the more probable from the contiguity of Lystra to Derbe, and from the association of Gaius's name so directly with that of Timothy, A. xx. 4. And under the several circumstances fairly put together, we may even conclude, that it was the personal influence of Gaius, from such wealth and such benevolence, that (humanly speaking) secured for Paul, when in Derbe, an exemption from hostility and ill usage which he experienced no where else. pp. 21, 2.

ILLYRICUM,

If viewed as at p. 67., on ACTS xx. 2., becomes an important region in the apostolic history.

From ROM. xv. 19. it appears, that St. Paul had on that occasion completed his visitation of Macedonia towards the north-west where it joins on Illyricum.

At pp. 122, 3., on TIT. iii. 12., it is seen, that he had planned, after preaching in other parts, to winter at Nicopolis:

And in 2 TIM. iv. 10., p. 127., we find Titus to have been recently despatched into the southern part of Illyricum, into Dalmatia.

Thus the gospel may seem to have spread somewhat extensively along the eastern coast of the Adriatic and to have afforded large occupation, however imperfectly now known to us, both to the zeal of the apostle and to that of his missionary Titus.

JERUSALEM.

In two of the three recorded Progresses of Paul, before he returned to Antioch, he included in the plan of his movements a visit to the Holy City, at one or other of the great feasts.

After his *second* Progress, in A. xviii. 21, 2.

"I must by all means keep this feast, that cometh in Jerusalem.

* * * * *

And when he had landed at Cesarea, and *gone up*, i. e. to Jerusalem, and saluted the church, he went *down* to Antioch."

After his *third* Progress, we have the intention and the execution of it thus told.

A. xx. 16. He hasted, if it were possible for him to be at Jerusalem on the day of Pentecost.

xxi. 15. And after those days, we took up our carriages, and went up to Jerusalem.

As connected with his great Progresses, these are the only two visits recorded in the Acts. But at a period antecedent to those visits, two other, and direct, journies were undertaken by him; during the long time, A. xiv. 28., that Barnabas and he abode with the disciples at Antioch.

The first in these papers is styled the *private journey*, p. 23., the second is entitled the *public mission*, p. 26., to Jerusalem, being related in GALAT. ii. 1...10. and in A. xv. 1...31. respectively.

LUKE, the Evangelist, and Physician,

i. Probably of Antioch, and a Gentile, H. P. 148., and apparently connected (whether by his profession or not) with Philippi and Troas, before he met St. Paul at the latter place, A. xvi. 8. 10., then on his second Progress:

ii. And having passed over with St. Paul into Europe, attended him, xvi. 12., to Philippi, where, after St. Paul's departure from that city, he remained himself without any annoyance;

iii. In all probability, till he was seen by St. Paul, when he visited Macedonia *again*, A. xx. 2.

iv. But not sent down to Corinth with that epistle, 2 Cor. (notwithstanding the subscription), nor named in it, as being then unknown to the Corinthians.

v. On St. Paul's *third* visit to Philippi, A. xx. 3...6., Luke joined his company to Troas,

vi. And never apparently quitted him, till they both came to Rome together, A. xxviii. 16.

vii. While at Cesarea, A. xxiii. 33, &c., he had probably availed himself of the great opportunities of that situation to write his Gospel under the eye of St. Paul. *Vide* Appendix E.

viii. When at Rome, being known by report, as the beloved physician, to the brethren at Colossæ, he is joined in the salutation, COLOSS. iv. 14. and PHILEMON, ver. 24.

ix. In the Epistle to the Philippians, written (from St. Paul's more immediate expectation of deliverance, i. 25, 6., ii. 24.) at some interval after those two, the name of Luke does not occur; from whence we may fairly conclude that he was then gone elsewhere.

Conjectures as to the probable place and cause of his absence will be found in Appendix E.

x. If, during St. Paul's absence from Rome in his last apostolic Progress, Luke was at Cesarea, engaged on his second historical labour, App. u. s., we may well suppose, that after the apostle's return to Rome was made known to him, the well beloved Luke would lose no time in once more becoming his attendant in prison.

xi. One thing is very clear, that St. Paul, at the close of his earthly course, being then left in comparative solitude, has distinctly recorded, 2 TIM. iv. 11., "Only Luke is with me," that is, of his earlier associates: for at the end of that epistle it appears he was not neglected by Eubulus, and Pudens, and Linus, and Claudia, and by other brethren unnamed.

MALTA, p. 104. ACTS xxviii. 1.

A paper "On the Voyage and Place of Shipwreck of St. Paul, by Major Rennell, F.R.S." &c. in the *Archæologia*, vol. xxi. p. 92., will be read with much pleasure and entire satisfaction.

PETER; and JAMES and JOHN his brother, the two sons of Zebedee.

i. This apostolic triumvirate, so frequently occurring (and but once in any other order, LUKE ix. 28.) in the three first Gospels, appears in the Acts, by name, i. 13., with the other apostles, at Jerusalem, and virtually so, ii. 14.

JAMES never occurs again till A. xii. 2., where it is said, Herod "killed James the brother of John with the sword."

For JAMES the *Less*, *vide* below, s. iii.

ii. PETER and JOHN, so united, occur in the case of the lame man miraculously cured, and its remarkable consequences, A. iii. and iv., several times.

In A. viii. 14. they are sent by the other apostles into Samaria, where the Holy Ghost was given, v. 18., through laying on of their hands; and they return, v. 25., after having preached the gospel in many villages of the Samaritans.

This is the last mention, in the Acts, of JOHN the Evangelist.

Incidentally, however, by GAL. ii. 9., we find, on Paul and Barnabas visiting Jerusalem along with Titus (time of A. xiv. 28.) John was certainly there on that occasion.

"James (the Less), Cephas, and JOHN:"

Whereas at an earlier period, GAL. i. 19. = ACTS, ix. 26, 7., JOHN certainly was not then in Jerusalem.

How shall this absence of *John* be better accounted for, than on the natural supposition that the province of his labours now partly lay (viii. 14.) in Samaria, and in Galilee also, as he was by birth a Galilean?

iii. JAMES the Less, whose mother was Mary, MARK xv. 40., otherwise known, A. i. 13., as the son of Alphaeus, and GAL. i. 19. as the Lord's brother or cousin, is first separately mentioned in the latter text, as the only apostle, except Peter, whom in that visit to Jerusalem Paul had the opportunity to see, GAL. i. 19. = A. ix. 26, 7. H. P. 89.

Very soon after the martyrdom of James the brother of

John, James the Less begins to be spoken of in terms of distinction.

A. xii. 17. "Go," says Peter after his miraculous deliverance, "show these things unto James and to the brethren."

After this period, GAL. ii. 9. (in time = A. xiv. 28.) on the important occasion of Paul's private visit to Jerusalem, James bears a prominent part.

"And when *James*, Cephas, and John, who seemed to be pillars, perceived the grace that was given unto me, they gave to me and Barnabas the right hands of fellowship; that we should go unto the heathen, and they unto the circumcision."

At a somewhat later date, GAL. ii. 11, 12., "When Peter was come to Antioch, I withstood him to the face, because he was to be blamed. For before that certain came from *James*, he did eat with the Gentiles."

This text plainly attributes to James a kind of eminence or presidency in the church of Jerusalem, or at least a more fixed and stationary residence there. H. P. 99.

After this again, A. xv., in the council held at Jerusalem upon the business of the Gentile converts, he decidedly assumes a higher place, and after Peter had spoken, vv. 7...11. seems to have taken the lead. It was he who closed the debate and proposed the resolution, xv. 19., in which the council ultimately concurred. H. P. 99.

After that great concern was settled, the name of Peter no where occurs again in the Acts: he disappears from Jerusalem entirely. Into what distant scenes he afterwards travelled as the apostle of the circumcision, it is no part of my limited undertaking to collect from other writers or investigate for myself; unless so far as the name of *SILAS* connected with that of Peter requires to be noticed in the Index.

iv. JAMES therefore after A. xv. remains in Jerusalem the acknowledged bishop of the church; and the last mention of his name occurs on a very important meeting, A. xxi. 18., "The day following Paul went in with us unto James; and all the elders were present."

And here terminates this brief notice of Peter, James, and John, and of James the Less, rendered in some sort neces-

sary from its connection with the apostolic history of St. Paul.

SILAS or SILVANUS. H. P. 66.

i. When Silas, A. xv. 22., first left Jerusalem as sent along with the decree from the council held there, it was only, as he thought, on the mission to Antioch, and then to return. Instead of that, as we have seen, A. xv. 40. p. 34., he set out with Paul on an indefinite line of progress, and faithfully accompanied him through the varied scenes, trials, and sufferings of a long and protracted absence.

ii. After Silas along with Timothy arrived at Corinth from Macedonia, A. xviii. 5., and there rejoined the apostle, the name of Timothy does not appear again till a much later day, and that, at Ephesus, A. xix. 22. The name of Silas never again appears in the Acts.

Now we can have little doubt but that Silas as well as Timothy would bear the apostle company to Jerusalem, A. xviii. 22. What then became of Silas?

iii. Nothing so natural, as that on their arrival there Silas should now remain in the place of his home, of his relations and friends; on a scene, too, be it remembered, A. xv. 22., where he already held a chief place among the brethren.

iv. What partly confirms the idea that he must there have taken his leave of Paul, is the fact of his being afterwards despatched by the apostle Peter with that epistle, in which he is called (1 PET. v. 12.) "a faithful brother unto you, as I suppose." And why was he called so? because Peter knew that he had been the associate of Paul when preaching the gospel "in Phrygia and Galatia" certainly, A. xvi. 6. Whether Silas after that time travelled through "Pontus, Cappadocia, Bithynia," &c., 1 PET. i. 1., must be left in the uncertainty of conjecture.

TIMOTHY

i. Is converted, A. xiv. 7., with Lois and Eunice, pp. 19, 20., and received by the apostle as his personal attendant, A. xvi. 1, 2, 3. pp. 34, 5.

ii. Bears Paul company all along, to Berea, A. xvii. 10., follows Paul to Athens, is sent back to Thessalonica, and thence arrives at Corinth, xviii. 5. pp. 46, 7, 8.

iii. Accompanies Paul, *viâ* Ephesus, to Syria, goes up with him to Jerusalem; and thence, to Antioch, p. 53.

iv. On Paul's third Progress, through Galatia and Phrygia, to Ephesus; from thence (along with Erastus), A. xix. 22., into Macedonia; from whence he might have gone to Corinth, and thence back to Ephesus, but he is overtaken by Paul before he left Philippi, pp. 154, 5.

v. Attends Paul through the parts N. W. of Greece, and is reckoned at Corinth, A. xx. 4., as one of his seven companions, on return *viâ* Troas, &c., and goes with him to Jerusalem.

vi. Probably with him at Cesarea for part of the time, but not his companion on the voyage to Rome; where however his name is found in the salutations, COL. i. 1., PHILE. ver. 1.

vii. Goes with him (and Titus) first to Crete, p. 120., then to Ephesus; where Paul leaves him behind, and after going *viâ* Troas into Macedonia, from Philippi, writes that epistle to him, 1 TIM. p. 121.

viii. Apparently, after this, while Paul was yet at Nicopolis or in the neighbourhood, Timothy had been summoned from the station at Ephesus to that of Philippi, pp. 123, 4.

Paul on his return to Rome, taking Corinth in the way, and wishing once more to visit the church of Ephesus, so much the object always of his anxiety, under those circumstances had no opportunity to see his beloved disciple in Macedonia.

At Rome, not long, it is thought, after his second arrival in that city, he is again persecuted and thrown into prison. And from thence, Timothy is addressed at Philippi in an epistle (2 TIM.) p. 125.; which while it requests him to come

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to the apostle before winter, implies also his being engaged (*viâ* Troas) to visit Ephesus on the journey.

Nothing more after this appears to be known; nothing can be with any probability conjectured.

TITUS,

Probably a native of Antioch, and there converted by St. Paul, TIT. i. 4.

i. GAL. ii. 1. he is taken up by the apostle, in that the *private journey* to Jerusalem, inserted here, p. 23. after A. xiv., from which it appears he was a Gentile;

And on his return, he appears to have staid at Antioch, till he joined St. Paul in his third Progress, p. 56.

ii. Is sent by him, 2 COR. xii. 18., from Ephesus to Corinth, on the matters in Appendix D. p. 155.

Ibid. ii. 13. afterwards expected at Troas, p. 156.: but vii. 5, 6. is met in Macedonia.

iii. *Ibid.* viii. 16, 17., is sent down to Corinth, on account of that charitable contribution, p. 157.

iv. And most probably remains as superintendent of the church there, when Paul with his seven companions departed, A. xx. 4., and is there occupied for some years:

v. Nor does he elsewhere appear again, till probably along with St. Paul at Rome, pp. 119, 120., and, then after his deliverance, fixed by him, TIT. i. 5., in the episcopal care of Crete.

vi. In TIT. iii. 12. he is summoned by St. Paul to Nicopolis.

vii. Probably returns in his company to Rome; and during his second imprisonment, 2 TIM. iv. 10., is despatched by the apostle into Dalmatia, (*vide* pp. 67. 123. and Index, Illyricum,) into the scene of their former labours.

TROAS.

Of places in the apostolic progresses more important than from the brief mention of them in the Acts or even in the Epistles might be thought, Troas forms a very striking example.

i. Paul's *first* visit to that place, accompanied by Silas and Timothy, is narrated A. xvi. 8... p. 36., with its momentous consequences to the European world. And as Luke was sojourning there at the time, Troas may seem in the first instance to have been visited on its own account; but providentially also, for the divine purpose, to carry the gospel over into Macedonia, and into Greece.

ii. Paul *again* visited Troas, purposely, from Ephesus, with expectation to meet Titus there, 2 COR. ii. 12., in time = A. xx. i., when, though a door to preach Christ's gospel was opened unto him of the Lord, he was constrained to take his leave of them and to hasten into Macedonia, p. 66.

iii. Paul visited Troas a *third* time, A. xx. 4, 5., having previously sent Timothy and his six other companions, not merely to wait for him till he (and Luke) arrived from Philippi, but doubtless (H. P. 67.) to gather some of that harvest, which on his last hasty visit he had prematurely quitted, and which on this occasion he now stopped seven days to aid them in more fully reaping. *Vide*, on ACTS xx. 13., p. 74.

iv. *Finally*, he passed through Troas himself on his way from Ephesus to Philippi, p. 121., in that series of apostolic visits — after his deliverance from the first imprisonment at Rome — alluded to in 2 TIM. iv. 13., and traced out by Dr. Paley, H. P. 189., in what he calls "an hypothetic journey:" a journey however left incomplete by him, unless he had inserted "*viâ* Troas" betwixt Ephesus and Macedonia.

That particular in Paul's route is required by the passage in 2 TIM. iv. 3., otherwise, how could the apostle have left the cloke and the parchments with Carpus? which Timothy at a future day was to call for, in the way from Philippi, *viâ* Troas to Ephesus on his own way ultimately to Rome.

TYCHICUS,

Probably an Ephesian, or of that neighbourhood,

Is mentioned in the following passages,

A. xx. 4. EPH. vi. 21. = COL. iv. 7. TIT. iii. 12.

2 TIM. iv. 12.

i. A. xx. 4. Here his name occurs for the first time, in conjunction with Trophimus also of Asia, as one of the seven companions of Paul when he departed from Corinth.

ii. COL. iv. 7. The bearer of those Epistles from Rome, and expressly sent by Paul into Asia, he must have gone to Colossæ in person, (and to other churches, EPH. vi. 21.) as an intelligent and affectionate messenger.

In that neighbourhood, when Paul arrived on his Fourth Progress, Tychicus (and Artemas also) should seem to have joined the apostle again.

iii. For in TIT. iii. 12. the apostle writes in a way to show, that Tychicus was then along with him or within his reach: he would not else speak of sending (from Macedonia) Tychicus (or Artemas) to relieve Titus in the episcopal government of Crete. A person so designed must evidently have borne a high character as a trustworthy and venerable man.

iv. 2 TIM. iv. 12. In agreement with all this, we afterwards find Tychicus actually sent from Rome to hold that sacred office in the church of Ephesus, and permanently so: for though Timothy on his expected return to Rome would visit that city, he was clearly instructed by Paul not to stay there.

HORÆ PAULINÆ :

OR,

THE TRUTH OF THE SCRIPTURE HISTORY

OF

ST. PAUL,

EVINCED BY A COMPARISON

OF

THE EPISTLES WHICH BEAR HIS NAME,

WITH

THE ACTS OF THE APOSTLES,

AND WITH ONE ANOTHER.

BY WILLIAM PALEY, M.A.

ARCHDEACON OF CARLISLE.

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WHICH ARE MARKED IN BRACKETS.

1840.

TO
THE RIGHT REVEREND
JOHN LAW, D.D.
LORD BISHOP OF KILLALA AND ACHONRY,

AS A TESTIMONY
OF ESTEEM FOR HIS VIRTUES AND LEARNING,
AND OF GRATITUDE FOR THE LONG AND FAITHFUL FRIENDSHIP

WITH WHICH
THE AUTHOR HAS BEEN HONOURED
BY HIM,
THIS ATTEMPT TO CONFIRM THE EVIDENCE OF

THE CHRISTIAN HISTORY
IS INSCRIBED,
BY HIS AFFECTIONATE AND MOST OBLIGED SERVANT,

W. PALEY.

100

100

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THE
TRUTH
OF THE
SCRIPTURE HISTORY OF ST. PAUL
EVINCED.

CHAPTER I.

EXPOSITION OF THE ARGUMENT.

THE volume of Christian scriptures contains thirteen letters purporting to be written by St. Paul ; it contains also a book, which, amongst other things, professes to deliver the history, or rather memoirs of the history, of this same person. By assuming the genuineness of the letters, we may prove the substantial truth of the history ; or, by assuming the truth of the history, we may argue strongly in support of the genuineness of the letters. But I assume neither one nor the other. The reader is at liberty to suppose these writings to have been lately discovered in the library of the Escorial, and to come to our hands destitute of any extrinsic or collateral evidence whatever ; and the argument I am about to offer is calculated to show, that a comparison of the different writings would, even under these circumstances, afford good reason to believe the persons and transactions to have been real, the letters authentic, and the narration in the main to be true.

Agreement or conformity between letters bearing the name of an ancient author, and a received history of that author's life, does not necessarily establish the credit of either : because,

1. The history may, like Middleton's Life of Cicero, or Jortin's Life of Erasmus, have been wholly, or in part, compiled from the letters ; in which case it is manifest that the history adds nothing to the evidence already afforded by the letters : or,

2. The letters may have been fabricated out of the history ; a species of imposture which is certainly practicable ; and which, without any accession of proof or authority, would necessarily produce the appearance of consistency and agreement ; or,

3. The history and letters may have been founded upon some authority common to both ; as upon reports and traditions which prevailed in the age in which they were composed, or upon some ancient record now lost, which both writers consulted : in which case also, the letters, without being genuine, may exhibit marks of conformity with the history, and the history, without being true, may agree with the letters.

Agreement therefore, or conformity, is only to be relied upon so far as we can exclude these several suppositions. Now the point to be noticed is, that in the three cases above enumerated, conformity must be the effect of *design*. Where the history is compiled from the letters, which is the first case, the design and composition of the work are in general so confessed, or made so evident by comparison, as to leave us in no danger of confounding the production with original history, or of mistaking it for an independent authority. The agreement, it is probable, will be close and uniform, and will easily be perceived to result from the intention of the author, and from the plan and conduct of his work.—Where the letters are fabricated from the history, which is the second case, it is always for the purpose of imposing a forgery upon the public ; and, in order to give colour and probability to the fraud, names, places, and circumstances, found in the history, may be studiously introduced into the letters, as well as a general consistency be endeavoured to be maintained. But here it is manifest, that whatever congruity appears, is the consequence of meditation, artifice, and design.—The third case is that wherein the history and

the letters, without any direct privy or communication with each other, derive their materials from the same source ; and, by reason of their common original, furnish instances of accordance and correspondency. This is a situation in which we must allow it to be possible for ancient writings to be placed ; and it is a situation in which it is more difficult to distinguish spurious from genuine writings, than in either of the cases described in the preceding suppositions ; inasmuch as the congruities observable are so far accidental, as that they are not produced by the immediate transplanting of names and circumstances out of one writing into the other. But although, with respect to each other, the agreement in these writings be mediate and secondary, yet is it not properly or absolutely undesigned ; because, with respect to the common original from which the information of the writers proceeds, it is studied and factitious. The case of which we treat must, as to the letters, be a case of forgery ; and when the writer, who is personating another, sits down to his composition — whether he have the history with which we now compare the letters, or some other record, before him ; or whether he have only loose tradition and reports to go by — he must adapt his imposture, as well as he can, to what he finds in these accounts ; and his adaptations will be the result of counsel, scheme, and industry : art must be employed ; and vestiges will appear of management and design. Add to this, that in most of the following examples, the circumstances in which the coincidence is remarked are of too particular and domestic a nature, to have floated down upon the stream of general tradition.

Of the three cases which we have stated, the difference between the first and the two others is, that in the first the design may be fair and honest, in the others it must be accompanied with the consciousness of fraud : but in all there is design. In examining, therefore, the agreement between ancient writings, the character of truth and originality is undesignedness : and this test applies to every supposition ; for, whether we suppose the history to be true, but the letters spurious ; or the letters to be genuine, but the history false ; or, lastly, falsehood to be

long to both — the history to be a fable, and the letters fictitious ; the same inference will result — that either there will be no agreement between them, or the agreement will be the effect of design. Nor will it elude the principle of this rule, to suppose the same person to have been the author of all the letters, or even the author both of the letters and the history ; for no less design is necessary to produce coincidence between different parts of a man's own writings, especially when they are made to take the different forms of a history and of original letters, than to adjust them to the circumstances found in any other writing.

With respect to those writings of the New Testament which are to be the subject of our present consideration, I think that, as to the authenticity of the epistles, this argument, where it is sufficiently sustained by instances, is nearly conclusive ; for I cannot assign a supposition of forgery, in which coincidences of the kind we inquire after are likely to appear. As to the history, it extends to these points : — It proves the general reality of the circumstances ; it proves the historian's knowledge of these circumstances. In the present instance it confirms his pretensions of having been a cotemporary, and in the latter part of his history a companion, of St. Paul. In a word, it establishes the substantial truth of the narration : and *substantial* truth is that which, in every historical inquiry, ought to be the first thing sought after and ascertained ; it must be the groundwork of every other observation.

The reader then will please to remember this word *undesignedness*, as denoting that upon which the construction and validity of our argument chiefly depend.

As to the proofs of undesignedness, I shall in this place say little ; for I had rather the reader's persuasion should arise from the instances themselves, and the separate remarks with which they may be accompanied, than from any previous formulary or description of argument. In a great plurality of examples, I trust he will be perfectly convinced that no design or contrivance whatever has been exercised : and if some of the coincidences alleged appear to be minute, circuitous, or oblique, let him reflect that

this very indirectness and subtility is that which gives force and propriety to the example. Broad, obvious, and explicit agreements prove little; because it may be suggested that the insertion of such is the ordinary expedient of every forgery: and though they may occur, and probably will occur, in genuine writings, yet it cannot be proved that they are peculiar to these. Thus what St. Paul declares in chap xi. of 1 Cor. [vv. 23. . .] concerning the institution of the eucharist — “ For I have received of
 “ the Lord that which I also delivered unto you, that the
 “ Lord Jesus, the same night in which he was betrayed,
 “ took bread; and when he had given thanks, he brake
 “ it, and said, Take, eat; this is my body, which is
 “ broken for you; this do in remembrance of me ” — though it be in close and verbal conformity with the account of the same transaction preserved by St. Luke [xxii. 15. . 20.], is yet a conformity of which no use can be made in our argument; for if it should be objected that this was a mere recital from the gospel, borrowed by the author of the epistle, for the purpose of setting off his composition by an appearance of agreement with the received account of the Lord’s supper, I should not know how to repel the insinuation. In like manner, the description which St. Paul gives of himself, in his epistle to the Philippians (iii. 5.) — “ Circumcised the eighth day,
 “ of the stock of Israel, of the tribe of Benjamin, an
 “ Hebrew of the Hebrews; as touching the law, a
 “ Pharisee; concerning zeal, persecuting the church;
 “ touching the righteousness which is in the law, blameless ” — is made up of particulars so plainly delivered concerning him, in the Acts of the Apostles, the Epistle to the Romans, and the Epistle to the Galatians, that I cannot deny but that it would be easy for an impostor, who was fabricating a letter in the name of St. Paul, to collect these articles into one view. This, therefore, is a conformity which we do not adduce. But when I read, in the Acts of the Apostles [xvi. 1.], that “ when Paul
 “ came to Derbe and Lystra, behold a certain disciple was
 “ there, named Timotheus, the son of a certain woman
 “ *which was a Jewess;* ” and when, in an epistle addressed

to Timothy [2 Tim. iii. 15.], I find him reminded of his "having known the holy scriptures *from a child*," which implies that he must, on one side or both, have been brought up by Jewish parents; I conceive that I remark a coincidence which shows, by its very *obliquity*, that scheme was not employed in its formation. In like manner, if a coincidence depend upon a comparison of dates, or rather of circumstances from which the dates are gathered — the more intricate that comparison shall be; the more numerous the intermediate steps through which the conclusion is deduced; in a word, the more *circuitous* the investigation is, the better, because the agreement which finally results is thereby farther removed from the suspicion of contrivance, affectation, or design. And it should be remembered, concerning these coincidences, that it is one thing to be minute, and another to be precarious; one thing to be unobserved, and another to be obscure; one thing to be circuitous or oblique, and another to be forced, dubious, or fanciful. And this distinction ought always to be retained in our thoughts.

The very particularity of St. Paul's epistles; the perpetual recurrence of names of persons and places; the frequent allusions to the incidents of his private life, and the circumstances of his condition and history; and the connection and parallelism of these with the same circumstances in the Acts of the Apostles, so as to enable us, for the most part, to confront them with one another; as well as the relation which subsists between the circumstances, as mentioned or referred to in the different epistles — afford no inconsiderable proof of the genuineness of the writings, and the reality of the transactions. For as no advertency is sufficient to guard against slips and contradictions, when circumstances are multiplied, and when they are liable to be detected by cotemporary accounts equally circumstantial, an impostor, I should expect, would either have avoided particulars entirely, contenting himself with doctrinal discussions, moral precepts, and general reflections*; or if, for the sake of imitating

* This, however, must not be misunderstood. A person writing to his friends, and upon a subject in which the transactions of his

St. Paul's style, he should have thought it necessary to intersperse his composition with names and circumstances, he would have placed them out of the reach of comparison with the history. And I am confirmed in this opinion by an inspection of two attempts to counterfeit St. Paul's epistles, which have come down to us; and the only attempts, of which we have any knowledge, that are at all deserving of regard. One of these is an epistle to the Laodiceans, extant in Latin, and preserved by Fabricius in his collection of apocryphal scriptures. The other purports to be an epistle of St. Paul to the Corinthians, in answer to an epistle from the Corinthians to him. This was translated by Scroderus from a copy in the Armenian language which had been sent to W. Whiston, and was afterwards, from a more perfect copy procured at Aleppo, published by his sons, as an appendix to their edition of Moses Chorenensis. No Greek copy exists of either: they are not only not supported by ancient testimony, but they are negatived and excluded; as they have never found admission into any catalogue of apostolical writings, acknowledged by, or known to, the early ages of Christianity. In the first of these I found, as I expected, a total *evitation* of circumstances. It is simply a collection of sentences from the canonical epistles, strung together with very little skill. The second, which is a more versute and specious forgery, is introduced with a list of names of persons who wrote to St. Paul from Corinth; and is preceded by an account sufficiently particular of the manner in which the epistle was sent from Corinth to St. Paul,

own life were concerned, would probably be led in the course of his letter, especially if it was a long one, to refer to passages found in his history. A person addressing an epistle to the public at large, or under the form of an epistle delivering a discourse upon some speculative argument, would not, it is probable, meet with an occasion of alluding to the circumstances of his life at all: he might, or he might not; the chance on either side is nearly equal. This is the situation of the catholic epistles. Although, therefore, the presence of these allusions and agreements be a valuable accession to the arguments by which the authenticity of a letter is maintained, yet the want of them certainly forms no positive objection.

and the answer returned. But they are names which no one ever heard of; and the account it is impossible to combine with any thing found in the Acts, or in the other epistles. It is not necessary for me to point out the internal marks of spuriousness and imposture which these compositions betray; but it was necessary to observe, that they do not afford those coincidences which we propose as proofs of authenticity in the epistles which we defend.

Having explained the general scheme and formation of the argument, I may be permitted to subjoin a brief account of the manner of conducting it.

I have disposed the several instances of agreement under separate numbers; as well to mark more sensibly the divisions of the subject, as for another purpose, viz. that the reader may thereby be reminded that the instances are independent of one another. I have advanced nothing which I did not think probable; but the degree of probability, by which different instances are supported, is undoubtedly very different. If the reader, therefore, meets with a number which contains an instance that appears to him unsatisfactory, or founded in mistake, he will dismiss that number from the argument, but without prejudice to any other. He will have occasion also to observe, that the coincidences discoverable in some epistles are much fewer and weaker than what are supplied by others. But he will add to his observation this important circumstance — that whatever ascertains the original of one epistle, in some measure establishes the authority of the rest. For, whether these epistles be genuine or spurious, every thing about them indicates that they come from the same hand. The diction, which it is extremely difficult to imitate, preserves its resemblance and peculiarity throughout all the epistles. Numerous expressions and singularities of style, found in no other part of the New Testament, are repeated in different epistles; and occur, in their respective places, without the smallest appearance of force or art. An involved argumentation, frequent obscurities, especially in the order and transition of thought, piety, vehemence, affection, bursts of rapture, and of unparalleled sublimity, are properties, all or most of them, discernible

in every letter of the collection. But although these epistles bear strong marks of proceeding from the same hand, I think it is still more certain that they were originally separate publications. They form no continued story; they compose no regular correspondence; they comprise not the transactions of any particular period; they carry on no connection of argument; they depend not upon one another; except in one or two instances, they refer not to one another. I will farther undertake to say, that no study or care has been employed to produce or preserve an appearance of consistency amongst them. All which observations show that they were not intended by the person, whoever he was, that wrote them, to come forth or be read together; that they appeared at first separately, and have been collected since.

The proper purpose of the following work is, to bring together, from the Acts of the Apostles, and from the different epistles, such passages as furnish examples of undesigned coincidence; but I have so far enlarged upon this plan, as to take into it some circumstances found in the epistles, which contributed strength to the conclusion, though not strictly objects of comparison.

It appeared also a part of the same plan, to examine the difficulties which presented themselves in the course of our enquiry.

I do not know that the subject has been proposed or considered in this view before. Ludovicus Cappellus, Bishop Pearson, Dr. Benson, and Dr. Lardner, have each given a continued history of St. Paul's life, made up from the Acts of the Apostles and the epistles joined together.*

* [*Historia Apostolica illustrata ex Actis Apostolorum et Epistolis Paulinis, &c. studio Lud. Cappelli. SALMURII. M.DC.LXXXII.* The dedication, to the celebrated John Daillè, bears date 1633.

Johannis Pearsonii Opera Posthuma Chronologica. De Serie et Successione primorum Romæ Episcoporum, &c.; quibus præfiguntur Annales Paulini, &c. LONDINI. 1688.

The references in this work to that of Lud. Cappellus are made according to the paging of the edition in 1682.

The History of the first planting of the Christian religion, taken from the Acts of the Apostles and their Epistles, &c. &c. By

But this, it is manifest, is a different undertaking from the present, and directed to a different purpose.

If what is here offered shall add one thread to that complication of probabilities by which the Christian history is attested, the reader's attention will be repaid by the supreme importance of the subject ; and my design will be fully answered.

CHAP. II.

THE EPISTLE TO THE ROMANS.

No. I.

THE first passage I shall produce from this epistle, and upon which a good deal of observation will be founded, is the following :

“ But now I go unto Jerusalem to minister unto the
“ saints ; for it hath pleased them of Macedonia and
“ Achaia to make a certain contribution for the poor
“ saints which are at Jerusalem.” Rom. xv. 25, 26.

In this quotation three distinct circumstances are stated — a contribution in Macedonia for the relief of the Christians of Jerusalem, a contribution in Achaia for the same purpose, and an intended journey of St. Paul to Jerusalem. These circumstances are stated as taking place at the same time, and that to be the time when the epistle was written. Now let us enquire whether we can find these circumstances elsewhere ; and whether, if we do find them, they meet together in respect of date. Turn to the Acts of the Apostles, xx. 2, 3, and you read the

George Benson, D.D., 2d edit. 3 vol. 4to (generally bound in one), 1756.

A History of the Apostles and Evangelists, Writers of the New Testament, in 3 vols. By Nathaniel Lardner, D.D. London, 1760.]

following account : “ When he had gone over those parts “ (viz. Macedonia), and had given them much exhortation, he came into Greece, and there abode three months ; and when the Jews laid wait for him, *as he was about to sail into Syria*, he purposed to return “ through Macedonia.” From this passage, compared with the account of St. Paul’s travels given before, and from the sequel of the chapter, it appears, that upon St. Paul’s *second* visit to the peninsula of Greece, his intention was, when he should leave the country, to proceed from Achaia directly by sea to Syria ; but that, to avoid the Jews, who were lying in wait to intercept him in his route, he so far changed his purpose as to go back through Macedonia, embark at Philippi, and pursue his voyage from thence towards Jerusalem. Here therefore is a journey to Jerusalem ; but not a syllable of any contribution. And as St. Paul had taken several journeys to Jerusalem before, and one also immediately after his *first* visit into the peninsula of Greece (Acts, xviii. 21.), it cannot from hence be collected in which of these visits the epistle was written, or, with certainty, that it was written in either. The silence of the historian, who professes to have been with St. Paul at the time (xx. 6.), concerning any contribution, might lead us to look out for some different journey, or might induce us perhaps to question the consistency of the two records, did not a very accidental reference, in another part of the same history, afford us sufficient ground to believe that this silence was omission. When St. Paul made his reply before Felix, to the accusations of Tertullus, he alleged, as was natural, that neither the errand which brought him to Jerusalem, nor his conduct whilst he remained there, merited the calumnies with which the Jews had aspersed him. “ Now “ after many years (*i. e.* of absence) I *came to bring alms to my nation and offerings* ; whereupon certain “ Jews from Asia found me purified in the temple, neither “ with multitude nor with tumult, who ought to have “ been here before thee, and object, if they had ought “ against me.” Acts, xxiv. 17—19. This mention of alms and offerings certainly brings the narrative in the

Acts nearer to an accordancy with the epistle ; yet no one, I am persuaded, will suspect that this clause was put into St. Paul's defence, either to supply the omission in the preceding narrative, or with any view to such accordancy.

After all, nothing is yet said or hinted concerning the *place* of the contribution ; nothing concerning Macedonia and Achaia. Turn therefore to the First Epistle to the Corinthians, xvi. 1—4, and you have St. Paul delivering the following directions : “ Concerning the collection for “ the saints, as I have given orders to the churches of Galatia, even so do ye : upon the first day of the week let “ every one of you lay by him in store as God hath prospered him, that there be no gatherings when I come. “ And when I come, whomsoever you shall approve by “ your letters, them will I send to bring your liberality “ unto Jerusalem ; and if it be meet that I go also, they “ shall go with me.” In this passage we find a contribution carrying on at Corinth, the capital of Achaia, for the Christians of Jerusalem ; we find also a hint given of the possibility of St. Paul going up to Jerusalem himself, after he had paid his visit into Achaia : but this is spoken of rather as a possibility than as any settled intention ; for his first thought was, “ Whomsoever you shall “ approve by your letters, them will I *send* to bring your “ liberality to Jerusalem : ” and, in the sixth verse, he adds, “ That ye may bring me on my journey *whithersoever* I go.” This epistle purports to be written after St. Paul had been at Corinth ; for it refers throughout to what he had done and said amongst them whilst he was there. The expression, therefore, “ when I come,” must relate to a *second* visit ; against which visit the contribution spoken of was desired to be in readiness.

But though the contribution in Achaia be expressly mentioned, nothing is here said concerning any contribution in Macedonia. Turn therefore, in the third place, to the Second Epistle to the Corinthians, viii. 1—4, and you will discover the particular which remains to be sought for : “ Moreover, brethren, we do you to wit of the grace “ of God bestowed on the *churches of Macedonia* ; how

“ that, in a great trial of affliction, the abundance of their
 “ joy and their deep poverty abounded unto the riches of
 “ their liberality ; for to their power I bear record, yea,
 “ and beyond their power, they were willing of themselves ;
 “ praying us, with much entreaty, that we would receive
 “ the gift, and take upon us the fellowship of the mini-
 “ stering to the saints.” To which add, ix. 2 : “ I know
 “ the forwardness of your mind, for which I boast of you
 “ to them of Macedonia, that Achaia was ready a year
 “ ago.” In this epistle we find St. Paul advanced as far
 as Macedonia, upon that *second* visit to Corinth which he
 promised in his former epistle ; we find also, in the
 passages now quoted from it, that a contribution was
 going on in Macedonia at the same time with, or soon
 however following, the contribution which was made in
 Achaia ; but for whom the contribution was made does
 not appear in this epistle at all : that information must be
 supplied from the first epistle.

Here therefore, at length, but fetched from three dif-
 ferent writings, we have obtained the several circum-
 stances we enquired after ; and which the Epistle to the
 Romans brings together, viz., a contribution in Achaia
 for the Christians of Jerusalem ; a contribution in Mace-
 donia for the same ; and an approaching journey of St.
 Paul to Jerusalem. We have these circumstances —
 each by some hint in the passage in which it is mentioned,
 or by the date of the writing in which the passage occurs
 — fixed to a particular time ; and we have that time
 turning out, upon examination, to be in all the *same* ;
 namely, towards the close of St. Paul’s second visit to the
 peninsula of Greece. This is an instance of conformity
 beyond the possibility, I will venture to say, of random
 writing to produce. I also assert, that it is in the highest
 degree improbable that it should have been the effect of
 contrivance and design. The imputation of *design* amounts
 to this, that the forger of the Epistle to the Romans in-
 serted in it the passage upon which our observations are
 founded, for the purpose of giving colour to his forgery
 by the appearance of conformity with other writings which
 were then extant. I reply, in the first place, that, if he

did this to countenance his forgery, he did it for the purpose of an argument which would not strike one reader in ten thousand. Coincidences so circuitous as this answer not the ends of forgery; are seldom, I believe, attempted by it. In the second place I observe, that he must have had the Acts of the Apostles, and the two Epistles to the Corinthians, before him at the time. In the Acts of the Apostles (I mean that part of the Acts [xx. 2, 3.] which relates to this period) he would have found the journey to Jerusalem; but nothing about the contribution. In the First Epistle to the Corinthians [xvi. 1 . . 4.] he would have found a contribution going on in Achaia for the Christians of Jerusalem, and a distant hint of the possibility of the journey; but nothing concerning a contribution in Macedonia. In the Second Epistle to the Corinthians [viii. 1 . . 4. ix. 2.] he would have found a contribution in Macedonia accompanying that in Achaia; but no intimation for whom either was intended, and not a word about the journey. It was only by a close and attentive collation of the three writings, that he could have picked out the circumstances which he has united in his epistle; and by a still more nice examination, that he could have determined them to belong to the same period. In the third place, I remark what diminishes very much the suspicion of fraud, how aptly and connectedly the mention of the circumstances in question, viz., the journey to Jerusalem, and of the occasion of that journey, arises from the context [Rom. xv. 24 . . .].

“ Whensoever I take my journey into Spain, I will come
 “ to you; for I trust to see you in my journey, and to
 “ be brought on my way thitherward by you, if first I be
 “ somewhat filled with your company. *But now I go*
 “ *unto Jerusalem, to minister unto the saints; for it*
 “ *hath pleased them of Macedonia and Achaia to make*
 “ *a certain contribution for the poor saints which are*
 “ *at Jerusalem.* It hath pleased them verily, and
 “ their debtors they are; for if the Gentiles have been
 “ made partakers of their spiritual things, their duty is
 “ also to minister unto them in carnal things. When
 “ therefore I have performed this, and have sealed to

“ them this fruit, I will come by you into Spain.” Is the passage in *Italics* like a passage foisted in for an extraneous purpose? Does it not arise from what goes before, by a junction as easy as any example of writing upon real business can furnish? Could any thing be more natural than that St. Paul, in writing to the Romans, should speak of the time when he hoped to visit them ; should mention the business which then detained him ; and that he purposed to set forwards upon his journey to them, when that business was completed ?

No. II.

By means of the quotation which formed the subject of the preceding number, we collect, that the Epistle to the Romans was written at the conclusion of St. Paul's second visit to the peninsula of Greece : but this we collect, not from the epistle itself, not from any thing *declared* concerning the time and place in any part of the epistle, but from a comparison of circumstances referred to in the epistle, with the order of events recorded in the Acts, and with references to the same circumstances, though for quite different purposes, in the two Epistles to the Corinthians. Now would the author of a forgery, who sought to gain credit to a spurious letter by congruities, depending upon the time and place in which the letter was supposed to be written, have left that time and place to be made out, in a manner so obscure and indirect as this is ? If, therefore, coincidences of circumstances can be pointed out in this epistle, depending upon its date, or the place where it was written, whilst that date and place are only ascertained by other circumstances, such coincidences may fairly be stated as *undesigned*. Under this head I adduce

(i.) Chap. xvi. 21—23. “ Timotheus, my work-fellow, and Lucius, and Jason, and Sosipater, my kinsmen, salute you. I Tertius, who wrote this epistle, salute you in the Lord. Gaius mine host, and of the whole church, saluteth you ; and Quartus, a brother.”

With this passage I compare Acts, xx. 4. “And there accompanied him into Asia, Sopater of Berea; and of the Thessalonians, Aristarchus and Secundus; and Gaius of Derbe, and Timotheus; and, of Asia, Tychicus and Trophimus.” The Epistle to the Romans, we have seen, was written just before St. Paul’s departure from Greece, after his second visit to that peninsula: the persons mentioned in the quotation from the Acts are those who accompanied him in that very departure. Of seven whose names are joined in the salutation of the church of Rome, three, viz., Sosipater, Gaius, and Timothy are proved, by this passage in the Acts, to have been with St. Paul at the time. And this is, perhaps, as much coincidence as could be expected from reality, though less, I am apt to think, than would have been produced by design. Four are mentioned in the Acts who are not joined in the salutation; and it is in the nature of the case probable that there should be many attending St. Paul in Greece who knew nothing of the converts at Rome, nor were known by them. In like manner several are joined in the salutation who are not mentioned in the passage referred to in the Acts. This also was to be expected. The occasion of mentioning them in the Acts was their proceeding with St. Paul upon his journey. But we may be sure that there were many eminent Christians with St. Paul in Greece, besides those who accompanied him into Asia.*

* Of these Jason is one, whose presence upon this occasion is very naturally accounted for. Jason was an inhabitant of Thessalonica in Macedonia, and entertained St. Paul in his house upon his first visit to that country. Acts, xvii. 7. — St. Paul, upon this his second visit, passed through Macedonia on his way to Greece, and, from the situation of Thessalonica, most likely through that city. It appears, from various instances in the Acts, to have been the practice of many converts to attend St. Paul from place to place. It is, therefore, highly probable, — I mean that it is highly consistent with the account in the history, that Jason, according to that account a zealous disciple, the inhabitant of a city at no great distance from Greece, and through which, as it should seem, St. Paul had lately passed, should have accompanied St. Paul into Greece, and have been with him there at this time,

Lucius is another name in the epistle. A very slight alteration would convert Λούκιος into Λουκάς, Lucius into Luke, which would

But if any one shall still contend that a forger of the epistle, with the Acts of the Apostles before him, and having settled his scheme of writing a letter as from St. Paul upon his second visit into Greece, would easily think of the expedient of putting in the names of those persons who appeared to be with St. Paul at the time, as an obvious recommendation of the imposture; I then repeat my observations: first, that he would have made the catalogue more complete; and, secondly, that with this contrivance in his thoughts, it was certainly his business, in order to avail himself of the artifice, to have stated in the body of the epistle that St. Paul was in Greece when he wrote it, and that he was there upon his second visit. Neither of which he has done, either directly, or even so as to be discoverable by any circumstance found in the narrative delivered in the Acts.

(ii.) Under the same head, viz. of coincidences depending upon date, I cite from the epistle the following salutation: "Greet Priscilla and Aquila, my helpers in Christ Jesus, who have for my life laid down their own necks; unto whom not only I give thanks, but also all the churches of the Gentiles;" xvi. 3.—It appears, from the Acts of the Apostles, that Priscilla and Aquila had originally been inhabitants of Rome; for we read, Acts, xviii. 2, that "Paul found a certain Jew, named Aquila, lately come from Italy with his wife Priscilla, because that Claudius had commanded all Jews to depart from *Rome*." They were connected therefore with the place to which the salutations are sent. That is one coincidence; another is the following: St. Paul became acquainted with these persons at Corinth during his first visit into Greece. They accompanied him upon his return into Asia; were settled for some time at Ephesus, Acts,

produce an additional coincidence: for, if Luke was the author of the history, he was with St. Paul at this time; inasmuch as, describing the voyage which took place soon after the writing of this epistle, the historian uses the first person—"We sailed away from Philippi." Acts, xx. 6. [A more probable account of the situation of Luke at this time is proposed on Acts, xx. 4.]

xviii. 19—26 ; and appear to have been with St. Paul when he wrote from that place his First Epistle to the Corinthians, 1 Cor. xvi. 19. Not long after the writing of which epistle St. Paul went from Ephesus into Macedonia, and “after he had gone over those parts” [Acts, xx. 2.], proceeded from thence upon his second visit into Greece ; during which visit, or rather at the conclusion of it, the Epistle to the Romans, as hath been shown, was written. We have therefore the time of St. Paul’s residence at Ephesus after he had written to the Corinthians, the time taken up by his progress through Macedonia (which is indefinite, and was probably considerable), and his three months’ abode in Greece ; we have the sum of these three periods allowed for Aquila and Priscilla going back to Rome, so as to be there when the epistle before us was written. Now what this quotation leads us to observe is, the danger of scattering names and circumstances in writings like the present, how implicated they often are with dates and places, and that nothing but truth can preserve consistency. Had the notes of time in the Epistle to the Romans fixed the writing of it to any date prior to St. Paul’s first residence at Corinth, the salutation of Aquila and Priscilla would have contradicted the history, because it would have been prior to his acquaintance with these persons. If the notes of time had fixed it to any period during *that* residence at Corinth, during his journey to Jerusalem when he first returned out of Greece, during his stay at Antioch whither he went down from Jerusalem, or during his second progress through the Lesser Asia upon which he proceeded from Antioch, an equal contradiction would have been incurred ; because from Acts, xviii. 2—18, 19—26, it appears that during all this time Aquila and Priscilla were either along with St. Paul, or were abiding at Ephesus. Lastly, had the notes of time in this epistle, which we have seen to be perfectly incidental, compared with the notes of time in the First Epistle to the Corinthians, which are equally incidental, fixed this epistle to be either cotemporary with that, or prior to it, a similar contradiction would have ensued ; because, first, when the Epistle to the Corin-

thians was written, Aquila and Priscilla were along with St. Paul, as they joined in the salutation of that church, 1 Cor. xvi. 19 ; and because, secondly, the history does not allow us to suppose, that between the time of their becoming acquainted with St. Paul, and the time of St. Paul's writing to the Corinthians, Aquila and Priscilla could have gone to Rome, so as to have been saluted in an epistle to that city, and then come back to St. Paul at Ephesus, so as to be joined with him in saluting the church of Corinth. As it is, all things are consistent. The Epistle to the Romans is posterior even to the Second Epistle to the Corinthians ; because it speaks of a contribution in Achaia being completed, which the Second Epistle to the Corinthians, chap. viii., is only soliciting. It is sufficiently therefore posterior to the First Epistle to the Corinthians, to allow time in the interval for Aquila and Priscilla's return from Ephesus to Rome.

Before we dismiss these two persons, we may take notice of the terms of commendation in which St. Paul describes them, and of the agreement of that encomium with the history. " My helpers in Christ Jesus, who " have for my life laid down their necks ; unto whom not " only I give thanks, but also all the churches of the " Gentiles." In the eighteenth chapter of the Acts, we are informed that Aquila and Priscilla were Jews ; that St. Paul first met with them at Corinth ; that for some time he abode in the same house with them ; that St. Paul's contention at Corinth was with the unbelieving Jews, who at first " opposed and blasphemed, and afterwards with one accord raised an insurrection against " him ;" that Aquila and Priscilla adhered, we may conclude, to St. Paul throughout this whole contest ; for, when he left the city, they went with him, Acts, xviii. 18. Under these circumstances, it is highly probable that they should be involved in the dangers and persecutions which St. Paul underwent from the Jews, being themselves Jews ; and, by adhering to St. Paul in this dispute, deserters, as they would be accounted, of the Jewish cause. Farther, as they, though Jews, were assisting to St. Paul in preaching to the Gentiles at Corinth, they had taken a

decided part in the great controversy of that day, the admission of the Gentiles to a parity of religious situation with the Jews. For this conduct alone, if there was no other reason, they may seem to have been entitled to "thanks from the churches of the Gentiles." They were Jews taking part with Gentiles. Yet is all this so indirectly intimated, or rather so much of it left to inference in the account given in the Acts, that I do not think it probable that a forger either could or would have drawn his representation from thence; and still less probable do I think it, that, without having seen the Acts, he could by mere accident, and without truth for his guide, have delivered a representation so conformable to the circumstances there recorded.

The two congruities last adduced depended upon the time, the two following regard the place, of the epistle.

1. Chap. xvi. 23. "Erastus, the chamberlain of the city, saluteth you"—of what city? We have seen, that is, we have inferred from circumstances found in the epistle compared with circumstances found in the Acts of the Apostles, and in the two Epistles to the Corinthians, that our epistle was written during St. Paul's second visit to the peninsula of Greece. Again, as St. Paul, in his epistle to the church of Corinth, 1 Cor. xvi. 3, speaks of a collection going on in that city, and of his desire that it might be ready against he came thither; and as in this epistle he speaks of that collection being ready, it follows that the epistle was written either whilst he was at Corinth, or after he had been there. Thirdly, since St. Paul speaks in this epistle [xv. 25.] of his journey to Jerusalem, as about instantly to take place, and as we learn, Acts, xx. 3, that his design and attempt was to sail upon that journey immediately from Greece, properly so called, *i. e.* as distinguished from Macedonia, it is probable that he was in this country when he wrote the epistle, in which he speaks of himself as upon the eve of setting out. If in Greece, he was most likely at Corinth, for the two Epistles to the Corinthians show that the principal end of his coming into Greece was to visit that city, where he had founded a church. Certainly we know

no place in Greece in which his presence was so probable : at least, the placing of him at Corinth satisfies every circumstance. Now that Erastus was an inhabitant of Corinth, or had some connection with Corinth, is rendered a fair subject of presumption, by that which is accidentally said of him in the Second Epistle to Timothy, iii. 20, “ Erastus abode at *Corinth*.” St. Paul complains of his solitude, and is telling Timothy what was become of his companions : “ Erastus abode at Corinth ; “ but Trophimus have I left at Miletum sick.” Erastus was one of those who had attended St. Paul in his travels, Acts, xix. 22 ; and when those travels had, upon some occasion, brought our apostle and his train to Corinth, Erastus stayed there, for no reason so probable as that it was his home. I allow that this coincidence is not so precise as some others, yet I think it too clear to be produced by accident ; for, of the many places which this same epistle has assigned to different persons, and the innumerable others which it might have mentioned, how came it to fix upon Corinth for Erastus ? And as far as it is a coincidence, it is certainly undesigned on the part of the author of the Epistle to the Romans : because he has not told us of what city Erastus was the chamberlain ; or, which is the same thing, from what city the epistle was written, the setting forth of which was absolutely necessary to the display of the coincidence, if any such display had been thought of : nor could the author of the Epistle to Timothy leave Erastus at Corinth, from any thing he might have read in the Epistle to the Romans, because Corinth is no where in that Epistle mentioned either by name or descripto.

2. Chap. xvi. 1—3. “ I commend unto you Phœbe, “ our sister, which is a servant of the church which is at “ Cenchrea, that ye receive her in the Lord, as becometh “ saints, and that ye assist her in whatsoever business she “ hath need of you ; for she hath been a succourer of “ many, and of myself also.” Cenchrea adjoined to Corinth ; St. Paul, therefore, at the time of writing the letter, was in the neighbourhood of the woman whom he thus recommends. But, farther, that St. Paul had before

this been at Cenchrea itself, appears from the eighteenth chapter of the Acts ; and appears by a circumstance as incidental, and as unlike design, as any that can be imagined. “ Paul after this tarried there (viz. at Corinth) “ yet a good while, and then took his leave of the brethren, “ and sailed thence into Syria, and with him Priscilla and “ Aquila, having shorn his head *in Cenchrea*, for he had “ a vow ;” xviii. 18. The shaving of the head denoted the expiration of the Nazaritic vow. The historian, therefore, by the mention of this circumstance, virtually tells us that St. Paul’s vow was expired before he set forward upon his voyage, having deferred, probably, his departure until he should be released from the restrictions under which his vow laid him. Shall we say that the author of the Acts of the Apostles feigned this anecdote of St. Paul at Cenchrea, because he had read in the Epistle to the Romans, that “ Phœbe, a servant of the church of “ Cenchrea, had been a succourer of many, and of him “ also ?” or shall we say that the author of the Epistle to the Romans, out of his own imagination, created Phœbe “ *a servant of the church at Cenchrea*,” because he read in the Acts of the Apostles that Paul had “ shorn his head ” in that place ?

No. III.

Chap. i. 13. “ Now, I would not have you ignorant, “ brethren, that *oftentimes I purposed to come unto you*, “ but was let hitherto, that I might have some fruit among “ you also, even as among other Gentiles.” Again, xv. 23, 24 : “ But now, having no more place in these parts, “ and having a great desire these many years (πολλά, “ oftentimes) to come unto you, whensoever I take my “ journey into Spain, I will come to you ; for I trust to “ see you in my journey, and to be brought on my way “ thitherward by you : but now I go up unto Jerusalem, “ to minister to the saints. When, therefore, I have “ performed this, and have sealed to them this fruit, I “ will come by you into Spain.”

With these passages compare Acts, xix. 21. "After these things were ended (viz. at Ephesus), Paul purposed in the spirit, when he had passed through Macedonia and Achaia, to go to Jerusalem ; saying, After I have been there, I must also see Rome."

Let it be observed, that our epistle purports to have been written at the conclusion of St. Paul's second journey into Greece ; that the quotation from the Acts contains words said to have been spoken by St. Paul at Ephesus, some time before he set forwards upon that journey. Now, I contend that it is impossible that two independent fictions should have attributed to St. Paul the same purpose, especially a purpose so specific and particular as this, which was not merely a general design of visiting Rome, but a design of visiting Rome after he had passed through Macedonia and Achaia, and after he had performed a voyage from these countries to Jerusalem. The conformity between the history and the epistle is perfect. In the first quotation from the epistle, we find that a design of visiting Rome had long dwelt in the apostle's mind : in the quotation from the Acts, we find that design expressed a considerable time before the epistle was written. In the history, we find that the plan which St. Paul had formed, was to pass through Macedonia and Achaia ; after that, to go to Jerusalem ; and, when he had finished his visit there, to sail for Rome. When the epistle was written, he had executed so much of his plan, as to have passed through Macedonia and Achaia ; and was preparing to pursue the remainder of it, by speedily setting out towards Jerusalem : and in this point of his travels he tells his friends at Rome, that, when he had completed the business which carried him to Jerusalem, he would come to them.

Secondly, I say that the very inspection of the passages will satisfy us that they were not made up from one another.

"Whosoever I take my journey into Spain, I will come to you ; for I trust to see you in my journey, and to be brought on my way thitherward by you : but now I go up to Jerusalem, to minister to the saints. When, therefore, I have performed this, and have sealed to

“ them this fruit, I will come by you into Spain.” — This from the epistle.

“ Paul purposed in the spirit, when he had passed through Macedonia and Achaia, to go to Jerusalem ; saying, After I have been there, I must also see Rome.” — This from the Acts.

If the passage in the epistle was taken from that in the Acts, why was *Spain* put in ? If the passage in the Acts was taken from that in the epistle, why was *Spain* left out ? If the two passages were unknown to each other, nothing can account for their conformity but truth. Whether we suppose the history and the epistle to be alike fictitious, or the history to be true but the letter spurious, or the letter to be genuine but the history a fable, the meeting with this circumstance in both, if neither borrowed it from the other, is, upon all these suppositions, equally inexplicable.

NO. IV.

The following quotation I offer for the purpose of pointing out a geographical coincidence, of so much importance, that Dr. Lardner considered it as a confirmation of the whole history of St. Paul's travels.

Chap. xv. 19. “ So that from Jerusalem, and round about unto Illyricum, I have fully preached the gospel of Christ.”

I do not think that these words necessarily import that St. Paul had penetrated into Illyricum, or preached the gospel in that province ; but rather that he had come to the confines of Illyricum (μέχρι τοῦ Ἰλλυρικοῦ), and that these confines were the external boundary of his travels. St. Paul considers Jerusalem as the centre, and is here viewing the circumference to which his travels had extended. The form of expression in the original conveys this idea — ἀπὸ Ἱερουσαλὴμ καὶ κύκλῳ μέχρι τοῦ Ἰλλυρικοῦ. Illyricum was the part of this circle which he mentions in an Epistle to the Romans, because it lay in a direction from Jerusalem towards that city, and pointed out to the Roman

readers the nearest place to them, to which his travels from Jerusalem had brought him. The name of Illyricum nowhere occurs in the Acts of the Apostles ; no suspicion, therefore, can be conceived that the mention of it was borrowed from thence. Yet I think it appears, from these same Acts, that St. Paul, before the time when he wrote his Epistle to the Romans, had reached the confines of Illyricum ; or, however, that he might have done so, in perfect consistency with the account there delivered. Illyricum adjoins upon Macedonia ; measuring from Jerusalem towards Rome, it lies close behind it. If, therefore, St. Paul traversed the whole country of Macedonia, the route would necessarily bring him to the confines of Illyricum, and these confines would be described as the extremity of his journey. Now, the account of St. Paul's second visit to the peninsula of Greece, is contained in these words : " He departed for to go into Macedonia ; *and when he had gone over those parts*, and had given them much exhortation, he came into Greece." Acts, xx. 2. This account allows, or rather leads us to suppose, that St. Paul, in going over Macedonia (διελθὼν τὰ μέρη ἐκεῖνα), had passed so far to the west, as to come into those parts of the country which were contiguous to Illyricum, if he did not enter into Illyricum itself. The history, therefore, and the epistle so far agree, and the agreement is much strengthened by a coincidence of *time*. At the time the epistle was written, St. Paul might say, in conformity with the history, that he had " come unto Illyricum : " much before that time, he could not have said so ; for, upon his former journey to Macedonia, his route is laid down from the time of his landing at Philippi to his sailing from Corinth. We trace him from Philippi to Amphipolis and Apollonia ; from thence to Thessalonica ; from Thessalonica to Beræa ; from Beræa to Athens ; and from Athens to Corinth : which track confines him to the eastern side of the peninsula, and therefore keeps him all the while at a considerable distance from Illyricum. Upon his second visit to Macedonia, the history, we have seen, leaves him at liberty. It must have been, therefore, upon that second visit, if at all, that he approached Illyricum ;

and this visit, we know, almost immediately preceded the writing of the epistle. It was natural that the apostle should refer to a journey which was fresh in his thoughts.

No. V.

Chap. xv. 30. "Now I beseech you, brethren, for the Lord Jesus Christ's sake, and for the love of the Spirit, that ye strive together with me in your prayers to God for me, that I may be delivered from them that do not believe in Judæa."—With this compare Acts, xx. 22, 23 :

"And now, behold, I go bound in the Spirit unto Jerusalem, not knowing the things that shall befall me there, save that the Holy Ghost witnesseth in every city, saying that bonds and afflictions abide me."

Let it be remarked that it is the same journey to Jerusalem which is spoken of in these two passages ; that the epistle was written immediately before St. Paul set forwards upon this journey from Achaia ; that the words in the Acts were uttered by him when he had proceeded in that journey as far as Miletus, in Lesser Asia. This being remembered, I observe that the two passages, without any resemblance between them that could induce us to suspect that they were borrowed from one another, represent the state of St. Paul's mind, with respect to the event of the journey, in terms of substantial agreement. They both express his sense of danger in the approaching visit to Jerusalem ; they both express the doubt which dwelt upon his thoughts concerning what might there befall him. When, in his epistle, he entreats the Roman Christians, "for the Lord Jesus Christ's sake, and for the love of the Spirit, to strive together with him in their prayers to God for him, that he might be delivered from them which do not believe in Judæa," he sufficiently confesses his fears. In the Acts of the Apostles we see in him the same apprehensions, and the same uncertainty : "I go bound in the Spirit to Jerusalem, *not knowing* the things that shall befall me there." The only difference

is, that in the history his thoughts are more inclined to despondency than in the epistle. In the epistle, he retains his hope "that he should come unto them with joy by the will of God;" in the history, his mind yields to the reflection, "that the Holy Ghost witnesseth in every city that bonds and afflictions awaited him." Now that his fears should be greater, and his hopes less, in this stage of his journey than when he wrote his epistle, that is, when he first set out upon it, is no other alteration than might well be expected; since those prophetic intimations to which he refers, when he says, "the Holy Ghost witnesseth in every city," had probably been received by him in the course of his journey, and were probably similar to what we know he received in the remaining part of it at Tyre (xxi. 4.), and afterwards from Agabus at Cæsarea (xxi. 11.).

No. VI.

There is another strong remark arising from the same passage in the epistle; to make which understood, it will be necessary to state the passage over again, and somewhat more at length.

"I beseech you, brethren, for the Lord Jesus Christ's sake, and for the love of the Spirit, that ye strive together with me in your prayers to God for me, that I may be delivered from them that do not believe in Judæa — that I may come unto you with joy by the will of God, and may with you be refreshed."

I desire the reader to call to mind that part of St. Paul's history which took place after his arrival at Jerusalem, and which employs the seven last chapters of the Acts; and I build upon it this observation — that supposing the Epistle to the Romans to have been a forgery, and the author of the forgery to have had the Acts of the Apostles before him, and to have there seen that St. Paul, in fact, "was *not* delivered from the unbelieving Jews," but, on the contrary, that he was taken into custody at Jerusalem, and brought to Rome a prisoner — it is next

to impossible that he should have made St. Paul express expectations so contrary to what he saw had been the event ; and utter prayers, with apparent hopes of success, which he must have known were frustrated in the issue.

This single consideration convinces me, that no concert or confederacy whatever subsisted between the epistle and the Acts of the Apostles ; and that whatever coincidences have been or can be pointed out between them, are unsophisticated, and are the result of truth and reality.

It also convinces me that the epistle was written not only in St. Paul's lifetime, but before he arrived at Jerusalem ; for the important events relating to him which took place after his arrival at that city, must have been known to the Christian community soon after they happened : they form the most public part of his history. But had they been known to the author of the epistle — in other words, had they then taken place — the passage which we have quoted from the epistle would not have been found there.

No. VII.

I now proceed to state the conformity which exists between the argument of this epistle and the history of its reputed author. It is enough for this purpose to observe, that the object of the epistle, that is, of the argumentative part of it, was to place the Gentile convert upon a parity of situation with the Jewish, in respect of his religious condition, and his rank in the divine favour. The epistle supports this point by a variety of arguments ; such as, “ that no man of either description was justified by the “ works of the law — for this plain reason, that no man “ had performed them ; that it became therefore necessary “ to appoint another medium or condition of justification, “ in which new medium the Jewish peculiarity was merged “ and lost ; that Abraham's own justification was anterior “ to the law, and independent of it ; that the Jewish converts were to consider the law as now dead, and themselves as married to another ; that what the law in “ truth could not do, in that it was weak through the flesh,

“ God had done by sending his Son ; that God had
“ rejected the unbelieving Jews, and had substituted in
“ their place a society of believers in Christ, collected
“ indifferently from Jews and Gentiles.” Soon after the
writing of this epistle, St. Paul, agreeably to the intention
intimated in the epistle itself, took his journey to Jeru-
salem. The day after he arrived there, he was introduced
to the church. What passed at this interview is thus re-
lated, Acts, xxi. 19 : “ When he had saluted them, he
“ declared particularly what things God had wrought
“ among the Gentiles by his ministry : and when they
“ heard it, they glorified the Lord ; and said unto him,
“ Thou seest, brother, how many thousands of Jews there
“ are which believe ; and they are all zealous of the law ;
“ and they *are informed of thee*, that thou teachest all
“ the Jews which are among the Gentiles to forsake
“ Moses, saying, that they ought not to circumcise their
“ children, neither to walk after the customs.” St. Paul
disclaimed the charge ; but there must have been some-
thing to have led to it. Now, it is only to suppose that
St. Paul openly professed the principles which the epistle
contains ; that, in the course of his ministry, he had
uttered the sentiments which he is here made to write ;
and the matter is accounted for. Concerning the accusa-
tion which public rumour had brought against him to
Jerusalem, I will not say that it was just ; but I will say
that, if he was the author of the epistle before us, and if
his preaching was consistent with his writing, it was ex-
tremely natural ; for, though it be not a necessary, surely
it is an easy inference, that if the Gentile convert, who
did not observe the law of Moses, held as advantageous a
situation in his religious interests as the Jewish convert
who did, there could be no strong reason for observing
that law at all. The remonstrance therefore of the church
of Jerusalem, and the report which occasioned it, were
founded in no very violent misconstruction of the apostle’s
doctrine. His reception at Jerusalem was exactly what I
should have expected the author of this epistle to have met
with. I am entitled, therefore, to argue that a separate
narrative of effects experienced by St. Paul, similar to

what a person might be expected to experience, who held the doctrines advanced in this epistle, forms a proof that he did hold these doctrines ; and that the epistle bearing his name, in which such doctrines are laid down, actually proceeded from him.

No. VIII.

This number is supplemental to the former. I propose to point out in it two particulars in the conduct of the argument, perfectly adapted to the historical circumstances under which the epistle was written ; which yet are free from all appearance of contrivance, and which it would not, I think, have entered into the mind of a sophist to contrive.

1. The Epistle to the Galatians relates to the same general question as the Epistle to the Romans. St. Paul had founded the church of Galatia ; at Rome he had never been. Observe now a difference in his manner of treating of the same subject, corresponding with this difference in his situation. In the Epistle to the Galatians he puts the point in a great measure upon *authority* : “ I marvel that “ ye are so soon removed from him that called you into “ the grace of Christ, unto another gospel.” Gal. i. 6. “ I “ certify you, brethren, that the gospel which was preached “ of me, is not after man ; for I neither received it of man, “ neither was I taught it but by the revelation of Jesus “ Christ ;” (i. 11, 12.) “ I am afraid lest I have bestowed “ upon you labour in vain ;” (iv. 11.) “ I desire to “ be present with you now, for I stand in doubt of you ;” (iv. 20.) “ Behold I, Paul, say unto you, that, if ye be “ circumcised, Christ shall profit you nothing ;” (v. 2.) “ This persuasion cometh not of him that called you ;” (v. 8.) This is the style in which he accosts the Galatians. In the epistle to the converts of Rome, where his authority was not established, nor his person known, he puts the same point entirely upon *argument*. The perusal of the epistle will prove this to the satisfaction of every reader ; and, as the observation relates to the whole con-

tents of the epistle, I forbear adducing separate extracts. I repeat, therefore, that we have pointed out a distinction in the two epistles, suited to the relation in which the author stood to his different correspondents.

Another adaptation, and somewhat of the same kind, is the following :

2. The Jews, we know, were very numerous at Rome, and probably formed a principal part amongst the new converts ; so much so, that the Christians seem to have been known at Rome rather as a denomination of Jews, than as any thing else. In an epistle, consequently, to the Roman believers, the point to be endeavoured after by St. Paul was, to reconcile the *Jewish* converts to the opinion, that the Gentiles were admitted by God to a parity of religious situation with themselves, and that without their being bound by the law of Moses. The Gentile converts would probably accede to this opinion very readily. In this epistle, therefore, though directed to the Roman church in general, it is in truth a Jew writing to Jews. Accordingly you will take notice, that as often as his argument leads him to say any thing derogatory from the Jewish institution, he constantly follows it by a softening clause. Having (ii. 28, 29) pronounced, not much perhaps to the satisfaction of the native Jews, “ that he is “ not a Jew which is one outwardly, neither that circumcision which is outward in the flesh,” he adds immediately, “ What advantage then hath the Jew, or what “ profit is there in circumcision ? *Much every way.*” Having in the third chapter, ver. 28, brought his argument to this formal conclusion, “ that a man is justified “ by faith, without the deeds of the law,” he presently subjoins, ver. 31, “ Do we then make void the law through “ faith ? God forbid : *yea, we establish the law.*” In the seventh chapter, when in the sixth verse he had advanced the bold assertion, that, “ now we are delivered “ from the law, that being dead wherein we were held ;” in the very next verse he comes in with this healing question, “ What shall we say then ? Is the law sin ? God “ forbid ; nay, I had not known sin but by the law.” Having in the following words insinuated, or rather more

than insinuated, the inefficacy of the Jewish law, viii. 3 ; “ for what the law could not do, in that it was weak “ through the flesh, God sending his own Son in the likeness of sinful flesh, and for sin, condemned sin in the flesh ;” after a digression indeed, but that sort of a digression which he could never resist, a rapturous contemplation of his Christian hope, and which occupies the latter part of this chapter ; we find him in the next, as if sensible that he had said something which would give offence, returning to his Jewish brethren in terms of the warmest affection and respect : [ix. 1. . .] “ I say the truth “ in Christ ; I lie not ; my conscience also bearing me “ witness, in the Holy Ghost, that I have great heaviness and continual sorrow in my heart ; for I could “ wish that myself were accursed from Christ, *for my brethren, my kinsmen according to the flesh, who are “ Israelites, to whom pertaineth the adoption, and the “ glory, and the covenants, and the giving of the law, and “ the service of God, and the promises ; whose are the “ fathers ; and of whom, as concerning the flesh, Christ “ came.*” When, in the thirty-first and thirty-second verses of this ninth chapter, he represented to the Jews the error of even the best of their nation, by telling them that “ Israel, which followed after the law of righteousness, had not attained to the law of righteousness, because “ they sought it not by faith, but as it were by the works “ of the law, for they stumbled at that stumbling-stone,” he takes care to annex to his declaration these conciliating expressions [x. 1, 2.] : “ Brethren, *my heart’s desire and “ prayer to God for Israel* is, that they might be saved ; for “ I bear them record that they *have a zeal of God*, but not “ according to knowledge.” Lastly, having, x. 20, 21, by the application of a passage in Isaiah insinuated the most ungrateful of all propositions to a Jewish ear, the rejection of the Jewish nation, as God’s peculiar people ; he hastens, as it were, to qualify the intelligence of their fall by this interesting expostulation : “ I say, then, hath God cast “ away his people (*i. e.* wholly and entirely) ? “ *God “ forbid ;* for I also am an Israelite, of the seed of Abraham, of the tribe of Benjamin. *God hath not cast away*

“his people which he foreknew :” and follows this thought, throughout the whole of the eleventh chapter, in a series of reflections calculated to soothe the Jewish converts, as well as to procure from their Gentile brethren respect to the Jewish institution. Now all this is perfectly natural. In a real St. Paul writing to real converts, it is what anxiety to bring them over to his persuasion would naturally produce ; but there is an earnestness and a personality, if I may so call it, in the manner, which a cold forgery, I apprehend, would neither have conceived nor supported.

CHAP. III.

THE FIRST EPISTLE TO THE CORINTHIANS.

No. I.

BEFORE we proceed to compare this epistle with the history, or with any other epistle, we will employ one number in stating certain remarks applicable to our argument, which arise from a perusal of the epistle itself.

By an expression in the first verse of the seventh chapter, “ now concerning the things whereof ye wrote unto me,” it appears, that this letter to the Corinthians was written by St. Paul in answer to one which he had received from them ; and that the seventh, and some of the following chapters, are taken up in resolving certain doubts, and regulating certain points of order, concerning which the Corinthians had in their letter consulted him. This alone is a circumstance considerably in favour of the authenticity of the epistle : for it must have been a far-fetched contrivance in a forgery, first to have feigned the receipt of a letter from the church of Corinth, which letter does not appear ; and then to have drawn up a fictitious answer to it, relative to a great variety of doubts and inquiries, purely economical and domestic ; and which, though likely enough to have occurred to an infant society, in a situation and

under an institution so novel as that of a Christian church then was, it must have very much exercised the author's invention, and could have answered no imaginable purpose of forgery, to introduce the mention of at all. Particulars of the kind we refer to, are such as the following: the rule of duty and prudence relative to entering into marriage, as applicable to virgins, to widows; the case of husbands married to unconverted wives, of wives having unconverted husbands; that case where the unconverted party chooses to separate, where he chooses to continue the union; the effect which their conversion produced upon their prior state, of circumcision, of slavery; the eating of things offered to idols, as it was in itself, as others were affected by it; the joining in idolatrous sacrifices; the decorum to be observed in their religious assemblies, the order of speaking, the silence of women, the covering or uncovering of the head, as it became men, as it became women. These subjects, with their several subdivisions, are so particular, minute, and numerous, that, though they be exactly agreeable to the circumstances of the persons to whom the letter was written, nothing, I believe, but the existence and reality of those circumstances, could have suggested them to the writer's thoughts.

But this is not the only nor the principal observation upon the correspondence between the church of Corinth and their apostle, which I wish to point out. It appears, I think, in this correspondence, that although the Corinthians had written to St. Paul, requesting his answer and his directions in the several points above enumerated, yet that they had not said one syllable about the enormities and disorders which had crept in amongst them, and in the blame of which they all shared; but that St. Paul's information concerning the irregularities then prevailing at Corinth had come round to him from other quarters. The quarrels and disputes excited by their contentious adherence to their different teachers, and by their placing of them in competition with one another, were not mentioned in their *letter*, but communicated to St. Paul by more private intelligence: "It hath been declared unto me, my
"brethren, by *them which are of the house of Chloe*, that

“ there are contentions among you. Now this I say, that every one of you saith, I am of Paul, and I of Apollos, and I of Cephas, and I of Christ ;” (i. 11, 12.) The incestuous marriage “ of a man with his father’s wife,” which St. Paul reprehends with so much severity in the fifth chapter of our epistle, and which was not the crime of an individual only, but a crime in which the whole church, by tolerating and conniving at it, had rendered themselves partakers, did not come to St. Paul’s knowledge by the *letter*, but by a rumour which had reached his ears : “ *It is reported commonly* that there is fornication among you, and such fornication as is not so much as named among the Gentiles, that one should have his father’s wife ; and ye are puffed up, and have not rather mourned, that he that hath done this deed might be taken away from among you ;” (v. 1, 2.) Their going to law before the judicature of the country, rather than arbitrate and adjust their disputes among themselves, which St. Paul animadverts upon with his usual plainness, was not intimated to him in the *letter*, because he tells them his opinion of this conduct, before he comes to the contents of the letter. Their litigiousness is censured by St. Paul in the sixth chapter of his epistle, and it is only at the beginning of the seventh chapter that he proceeds upon the articles which he found in their letter ; and he proceeds upon them with this preface : “ Now concerning the things whereof ye wrote unto me ;” (vii. 1.) which introduction he would not have used, if he had been already discussing any of the subjects concerning which they had written. Their irregularities in celebrating the Lord’s supper, and the utter perversion of the institution which ensued, were not in the *letter*, as is evident from the terms in which St. Paul mentions the notice he had received of it : [xi. 17, 18.] “ Now in this that I declare unto you, I praise you not, that ye come together not for the better, but for the worse ; for first of all, when ye come together in the church, I hear that there be divisions among you, and *I partly believe it.*” Now that the Corinthians should, in their own letter, exhibit the fair side of their conduct to the apostle.

and conceal from him the faults of their behaviour, was extremely natural, and extremely probable ; but it was a distinction which would not, I think, have easily occurred to the author of a forgery ; and much less likely is it, that it should have entered into his thoughts to make the distinction *appear* in the way in which it does appear, viz. not by the original letter, not by any express observation upon it in the answer, but distantly by marks perceivable in the manner, or in the order, in which St. Paul takes notice of their faults.

No. II.

Our epistle purports to have been written after St. Paul had already been at Corinth : “ I, brethren, *when I came to you*, came not with excellency of speech or of “ wisdom :” (ii. 1.) and in many other places to the same effect. It purports also to have been written upon the eve of another visit to that church : “ I will come to “ you shortly, if the Lord will ;” (iv. 19.) and again : “ I will come to you when I shall pass through Mace- “ donia ;” (xvi. 5.) Now the history relates that St. Paul did in fact visit Corinth *twice* ; once as recorded at length in the eighteenth, and a second time as mentioned briefly in the twentieth chapter of the Acts. The same history also informs us, Acts, xx. 1, that it was from Ephesus St. Paul proceeded [through Macedonia] upon his second journey into Greece. Therefore, as the epistle purports to have been written a short time preceding that journey ; and as St. Paul, the history tells us, had resided more than two years at Ephesus before he set out upon it, it follows that it must have been from Ephesus, to be consistent with the history, that the epistle was written ; and every note of *place* in the epistle agrees with this supposition. “ If, after the “ manner of men, I have fought with beasts at *Ephesus*, “ what advantageth it me, if the dead rise not ?” (xv. 32.) I allow that the apostle might say this, wherever he was ; but it was more natural and more to the purpose to say it, if he was at Ephesus at the time, and in the midst of

those conflicts to which the expression relates. — “ The “ churches of Asia salute you ; ” (xvi. 19.) Asia, throughout the Acts of the Apostles and the epistles of St. Paul, does not mean the whole of Asia Minor or Anatolia, nor even the whole of the proconsular Asia, but a district in the anterior part of that country, called Lydian Asia, divided from the rest, much as Portugal is from Spain, and of which district *Ephesus* was the capital. — “ Aquila “ and Priscilla salute you ; ” (xvi. 19.) Aquila and Priscilla were at *Ephesus* during the period within which this epistle was written. (Acts, xviii. 18 . . 26.) — “ I will “ tarry at *Ephesus* until Pentecost ; ” (xvi. 8.) This, I apprehend, is in terms almost asserting that he was at *Ephesus* at the time of writing the epistle. — “ A great “ door and effectual is opened unto me ; ” (xvi. 9.) How well this declaration corresponded with the state of things at *Ephesus*, and the progress of the Gospel in these parts, we learn from the reflection with which the historian concludes the account of certain transactions which passed there : “ So mightily grew the word of God and prevailed ; ” (Acts, xix. 20.) as well as from the complaint of Demetrius, “ that not alone at *Ephesus*, but almost “ throughout all Asia, this Paul hath persuaded and “ turned away much people ; ” (xix. 26.) — “ And there “ are many adversaries,” says the epistle, xvi. 9. Look into the history of this period [A. xix. 9.] : “ When “ divers were hardened and believed not, but spake evil “ of that way before the multitude, he departed from “ them, and separated the disciples.” The conformity therefore upon this head of comparison, is circumstantial and perfect. If any one think that this is a conformity so obvious, that any forger of tolerable caution and sagacity, would have taken care to preserve it, I must desire such a one to read the epistle for himself ; and when he has done so, to declare whether he has discovered one mark of art or design ; whether the notes of *time* and *place* appear to him to be inserted with any reference to each other, with any view of their being compared with each other, or for the purpose of establishing a visible agreement with the history, in respect of them.

No. III.

Chap. iv. 17—19. “ For this cause have I sent unto
 “ you Timotheus, who is my beloved son and faithful in
 “ the Lord, who shall bring you into remembrance of my
 “ ways which be in Christ, as I teach every where in
 “ every church. Now some are puffed up, as though I
 “ would not come to you ; but I will come to you shortly,
 “ if the Lord will.”

With this I compare Acts, xix. 21, 22 : “ After these
 “ things were ended, Paul purposed in the spirit, when
 “ he had passed through Macedonia and *Achaia*, to go
 “ to Jerusalem ; saying, after I have been there, I must
 “ also see Rome : so he sent unto Macedonia two of them
 “ that ministered unto him, *Timotheus* and Erastus.”

Though it be not said, it appears I think with sufficient
 certainty, I mean from the history, independently of the
 epistle, that Timothy was sent upon this occasion into
Achaia, of which Corinth was the capital city, as well as
 into Macedonia ; for the sending of Timothy and Erastus
 is, in the passage where it is mentioned, plainly connected
 with St. Paul’s own journey ; *he sent them before him*.
 As he therefore purposed to go into *Achaia* himself, it is
 highly probable that they were to go thither also. Never-
 theless they are said only to have been sent into Mace-
 donia, because Macedonia was in truth the country to
 which they went immediately from Ephesus ; being
 directed, as we suppose, to proceed afterwards from thence
 into Achaia. If this be so, the narrative agrees with the
 epistle ; and the agreement is attended with very little
 appearance of design. One thing at least concerning it
 is certain : that if this passage of St. Paul’s history had
 been taken from his letter, it would have sent Timothy to
 Corinth by name, or expressly however into Achaia.

But there is another circumstance in these two passages
 much less obvious, in which an agreement holds, without
 any room for suspicion that it was produced by design.
 We have observed that the sending of Timothy into the
 peninsula of Greece was connected in the narrative with

St. Paul's own journey thither ; it is stated as the effect of the same resolution. Paul purposed to go into Macedonia ; " *so* he sent two of them that ministered unto him, Timotheus and Erastus." Now in the epistle also you remark that, when the apostle mentions his having sent Timothy unto them, in the very next sentence he speaks of his own visit : " for this cause have I sent unto you Timotheus, who is my beloved son, &c. Now some are puffed up, as though I would not come to you ; but I will come to you shortly, if God will." Timothy's journey we see is mentioned in the history, and in the epistle, in close connection with St. Paul's own. Here is the same order of thought and intention ; yet conveyed under such diversity of circumstance and expression, and the mention of them in the epistle so allied to the occasion which introduces it, viz. the insinuation of his adversaries that he would come to Corinth no more, that I am persuaded no attentive reader will believe, that these passages were written in concert with one another, or will doubt but that the agreement is unsought and uncontrived.

But, in the Acts, Erastus accompanied Timothy in this journey, of whom no mention is made in the epistle. From what has been said, in our observations [No. II. (i.) xvi. 23.] upon the Epistle to the Romans, it appears probable that Erastus was a Corinthian. If so, though he accompanied Timothy to Corinth, he was only returning home, and Timothy was the messenger charged with St. Paul's orders. At any rate, this discrepancy shows that the passages were not taken from one another.

No. IV.

Chap. xvi. 10, 11. " Now, if Timotheus come, see that he may be with you without fear ; for he worketh the work of the Lord, as I also do : let no man therefore despise him, but conduct him forth in peace, that he may come unto me, for I look for him with the brethren."

From the passage considered in the preceding number, it appears that Timothy was sent to Corinth, either with the epistle, or before it: "For this cause have I sent unto you Timotheus." From the passage now quoted, we infer that Timothy was not sent *with* the epistle; for had he been the bearer of the letter, or accompanied it, would St. Paul in that letter have said, "*if* Timothy come?" Nor is the sequel consistent with the supposition of his carrying the letter; for if Timothy was with the apostle when he wrote the letter, could he say, as he does, "I look for him with the brethren?" I conclude therefore that Timothy had left St. Paul to proceed upon his journey before the letter was written. Farther, the passage before us seems to imply, that Timothy was not expected by St. Paul to arrive at Corinth, till after they had received the letter. He gives them directions in the letter how to treat him when he should arrive: "if he come," act towards him so and so. Lastly, the whole form of expression is most naturally applicable to the supposition of Timothy's coming to Corinth, not directly from St. Paul, but from some other quarter; and that his instructions had been, when he should reach Corinth, to return. Now, how stands this matter in the history? Turn to the nineteenth chapter and twenty-first verse of the Acts, and you will find that Timothy did not, when sent from Ephesus, where he left St. Paul, and where the present epistle was written, proceed by a straight course to Corinth, but that he went round through Macedonia. This clears up every thing; for, although Timothy was sent forth upon his journey before the letter was written, yet he might not reach Corinth till after the letter arrived there; and he would come to Corinth, when he did come, not directly from St. Paul at Ephesus, but from some part of Macedonia. Here therefore is a circumstantial and critical agreement, and unquestionably without design; for neither of the two passages in the epistle mentions Timothy's journey into Macedonia at all, though nothing but a circuit of that kind can explain and reconcile the expressions which the writer uses. [Of this journey of

Timothy a fuller account is given in the Appendix, on Acts, xix. 22.]

No. V.

Chap. i. 12. "Now this I say, that every one of you saith, I am of Paul, and I of Apollos, and I of Cephas, and I of Christ."

Also, iii. 6. "I have planted, Apollos watered, but God gave the increase."

This expression, "I have planted, Apollos watered," imports two things : first, that Paul had been at Corinth before Apollos ; secondly, that Apollos had been at Corinth after Paul, but before the writing of this epistle. This implied account of the several events, and of the order in which they took place, corresponds exactly with the history. St. Paul, after his first visit into Greece, returned from Corinth into Syria by the way of Ephesus ; and, dropping his companions Aquila and Priscilla at Ephesus, he proceeded forwards to Jerusalem : from Jerusalem he descended to Antioch ; and from thence made a progress through some of the upper or northern provinces of the Lesser Asia (Acts, xviii. 19. 23.) : during which progress, and consequently in the interval between St. Paul's first and second visit to Corinth, and consequently also before the writing of this epistle, which was at Ephesus, two years at least after the apostle's return from his progress, we hear of Apollos, and we hear of him at Corinth. Whilst St. Paul was engaged, as hath been said, in Phrygia and Galatia, Apollos came down to Ephesus ; and being, in St. Paul's absence, instructed by Aquila and Priscilla, and having obtained letters of recommendation from the church at Ephesus, he passed over to Achaia ; and when he was there, we read that he "helped them much which had believed through grace, for he mightily convinced the Jews, and that publicly." Acts, xviii. 27, 28. To have brought Apollos into Achaia, of which Corinth was the capital city, as well as the principal Christian church ; and to have shown that he

preached the gospel in that country, would have been sufficient for our purpose. But the history happens also to mention Corinth by name, as the place in which Apollos, after his arrival in Achaia, fixed his residence ; for, proceeding with the account of St. Paul's travels, it tells us, that while Apollos was at Corinth, Paul, having passed through the upper coasts, came down to Ephesus ; (xix. 1.) What is said therefore of Apollos, in the epistle, coincides exactly, and especially in the point of chronology, with what is delivered concerning him in the history. The only question now is, whether the allusions were made with a regard to this coincidence. Now, the occasions and purposes for which the name of Apollos is introduced in the Acts and in the epistles, are so independent and so remote, that it is impossible to discover the smallest reference from one to the other. Apollos is mentioned in the Acts, in immediate connection with the history of Aquila and Priscilla, and for the very singular circumstance of his "knowing only the baptism of John." In the epistle, where none of these circumstances are taken notice of, his name first occurs, for the purpose of reproving the contentious spirit of the Corinthians ; and it occurs only in conjunction with that of some others : "Every one of you saith, I am of Paul, and I of Apollos, "and I of Cephas, and I of Christ." The second passage in which Apollos appears, "I have planted, "Apollos watered," fixes, as we have observed, the order of time amongst three distinct events ; but it fixes this, I will venture to pronounce, without the writer perceiving that he was doing any such thing. The sentence fixes this order in exact conformity with the history ; but it is itself introduced solely for the sake of the reflection which follows : [iii. 7.] "Neither is he that planteth any "thing, neither he that watereth, but God that giveth the "increase."

No. VI.

Chap. iv. 11, 12. "Even unto this present hour we
 " both hunger and thirst, and are naked, and are buffeted,
 " and have no certain dwelling-place ; and labour, work-
 " ing with our own hands."

We are expressly told, in the history, that at Corinth St. Paul laboured with his own hands : [A. xviii. 1 . . 3.] " He found Aquila and Priscilla ; and, because he was of
 " the same craft, he abode with them, and wrought ; for
 " by their occupation they were tent-makers." But in the text before us, he is made to say, that " he laboured *even unto the present hour*," that is, to the time of writing the epistle at Ephesus. Now, in the narration of St. Paul's transactions at Ephesus, delivered in the nineteenth chapter of the Acts, nothing is said of his working with his own hands ; but in the twentieth chapter we read, that upon his return from Greece, he sent for the elders of the church of Ephesus, to meet him at Miletus ; and in the discourse which he there addressed to them, amidst some other reflections which he calls to their remembrance, we find the following : [A. xx. 33, 34.] " I have coveted
 " no man's silver, or gold, or apparel ; yea, you yourselves know, that these hands have ministered unto my
 " necessities, and to them that were with me." The reader will not forget to remark, that though St. Paul be now at Miletus, it is to the elders of the church of Ephesus he is speaking, when he says, " You yourselves
 " know that these hands have ministered to my necessities ;" and that the whole discourse relates to his conduct, during his last preceding residence at Ephesus. That manual labour therefore, which he had exercised at Corinth, he continued at Ephesus ; and not only so, but continued it during that particular residence at Ephesus, near the conclusion of which this epistle was written : so that he might, with the strictest truth, say, at the time of writing the epistle, "*Even unto this present hour*" " we labour, working with our own hands." The correspondency is sufficient then, as to the undesignedness of

it. It is manifest to my judgment, that if the history, in this article, had been taken from the epistle, this circumstance, if it appeared at all, would have appeared in its *place*, that is, in the direct account of St. Paul's transactions at Ephesus. The correspondency would not have been effected, as it is, by a kind of reflected stroke, that is, by a reference in a subsequent speech, to what in the narrative was omitted. Nor is it likely, on the other hand, that a circumstance which is not extant in the history of St. Paul at Ephesus, should have been made the subject of a factitious allusion, in an epistle purporting to be written by him from that place: not to mention that the allusion itself, especially as to time, is too oblique and general to answer any purpose of forgery whatever.

No. VII.

Chap. ix. 20. "And unto the Jews I became as a Jew, that I might gain the Jews; to them that are under the law, as under the law."

We have the disposition here described, exemplified in two instances which the history records; one, Acts, xvi. 3. "Him (Timothy) would Paul have to go forth with him, and took and circumcised him, *because of the Jews in those quarters*; for they knew all that his father was a Greek." This was before the writing of the epistle. The other, Acts, xxi. 23 . . 26, and after the writing of the epistle: "Do this that we say to thee: we have four men which have a vow on them: them take, and purify thyself with them, that they may shave their heads; and all may know that those things, whereof they were informed concerning thee, are nothing; but that thou thyself also walkest orderly, and keepest the law. — Then Paul took the men, and the next day, *purifying himself with them, entered into the temple.*" Nor does this concurrence between the character and the instances look like the result of contrivance. St. Paul, in the epistle, describes, or is made to describe, his own accommodating conduct towards Jews and towards Gentiles, towards the

weak and over scrupulous, towards men, indeed, of every variety of character; [vv. 21, 22.] “to them that are “without law as without law, being not without law to “God, but under the law to Christ, that I might gain “them that are without law; to the weak became I as “weak, that I might gain the weak. I am made all “things to all men, that I might gain some.” This is the sequel of the text which stands at the head of the present number. Taking, therefore, the whole passage together, the apostle’s condescension to the Jews is mentioned only as a part of his general disposition towards all. It is not probable, that this character should have been made up from the instances in the Acts, which relate solely to his dealings with the Jews. It is not probable that a sophist should take his hint from those instances, and then extend it so much beyond them: and it is still more incredible, that the two instances in the Acts, circumstantially related, and interwoven with the history, should have been fabricated, in order to suit the character which St. Paul gives of himself in the epistle.

No. VIII.

Chap. i. 14—17. “I thank God that I baptized none “of you but Crispus and Gaius, lest any should say that “I baptized in mine own name; and I baptized also the “household of Stephanas: besides, I know not whether I “baptized any other; for Christ sent me not to baptize, “but to preach the gospel.”

It may be expected that those whom the apostle baptized with his own hands, were converts distinguished from the rest by some circumstance, either of eminence, or of connection with him. Accordingly, of the three names here mentioned, Crispus, we find, from Acts, xviii. 8, was a “chief ruler of the Jewish synagogue at Corinth, who believed in the Lord, with all his house.” Gaius, it appears from Romans, xvi. 23, was St. Paul’s host at Corinth, and the host, he tells us, “of the whole church.” The household of Stephanas, we read in the

sixteenth chapter of this epistle, [v. 15.] “were the first fruits of Achaia.” Here, therefore, is the propriety we expected: and it is a proof of reality not to be contemned; for their names appearing in the several places in which they occur, with a mark of distinction belonging to each, could hardly be the effect of chance, without any truth to direct it: and, on the other hand, to suppose that they were picked out from these passages, and brought together in the text before us, in order to display a conformity of names, is both improbable in itself, and is rendered more so by the purpose for which they are introduced. They come in to assist St. Paul’s exculpation of himself against the possible charge, of having assumed the character of the founder of a separate religion, and with no other visible, or, as I think, imaginable design.*

* Chap. i. 1. “Paul, called to be an apostle of Jesus Christ, “through the will of God, and Sosthenes our brother, unto the church of God which is at Corinth.” — The only account we have of any person who bore the name of Sosthenes, is found in the eighteenth chapter of the Acts. When the Jews at Corinth had brought Paul before Gallio, and Gallio had dismissed their complaint as unworthy of his interference, and had driven them from the judgment-seat; “then all the Greeks,” says the historian, [v. 17.] “took Sosthenes, the chief ruler of the synagogue, and beat him before the judgment-seat.” The Sosthenes here spoken of was a Corinthian; and if he was a Christian, and with St. Paul when he wrote this epistle, was likely enough to be joined with him in the salutation of the Corinthian church. But here occurs a difficulty. If Sosthenes was a Christian at the time of this uproar, why should the *Greeks* beat him? The assault upon the Christians was made by the *Jews*. It was the *Jews* who had brought Paul before the magistrate. If it had been the *Jews* also who had beaten Sosthenes, I should not have doubted but that he had been a favourer of St. Paul, and the same person who is joined with him in the epistle. Let us see, therefore, whether there be not some error in our present text. The Alexandrian manuscript gives πάντες without *οι* Ἕλληνες, and is followed in this reading by the Coptic version, by the Arabic version published by Erpenius, by the Vulgate, and by Bede’s Latin version. Three Greek manuscripts, again, as well as Chrysostom, give *οι* Ἰουδαῖοι, in the place of *οι* Ἕλληνες. A great plurality of manuscripts authorise the reading which is retained in our copies. In this variety it appears to me extremely probable that the historian originally wrote πάντες alone, and that *οι* Ἕλληνες and *οι* Ἰουδαῖοι have been respectively added as explanatory of what the word πάντες was supposed to mean. The sentence, without

No. IX.

Chap. xvi. 10, 11. "Now, if Timotheus come, let "no man despise him."—Why *despise* him? This charge is not given concerning any other messenger whom St. Paul sent; and, in the different epistles, many such messengers are mentioned. Turn to 1 Timothy, iv. 12, and you will find that Timothy was a *young man*, younger, probably, than those who were usually employed in the Christian mission; and that St. Paul, apprehending lest he should, on that account, be exposed to contempt, urges upon him the caution which is there inserted, "Let no man despise thy youth."

No. X.

Chap. xvi. 1. "Now, concerning the collection for the "saints, as I have given order to the churches of Galatia, "even so do ye."

The churches of Galatia and Phrygia were the last churches which St. Paul had visited before the writing of this epistle. He was now at Ephesus, and he came thither immediately from visiting these churches [the second time]: "He went over all the country of Galatia and "Phrygia in order, strengthening all the disciples. . . And

the addition of either name, would run very perspicuously thus: "Καὶ ἀπήλασεν αὐτοὺς ἀπὸ τοῦ βήματος ἐπιλαβόμενοι δὲ πάντες Σωσθένην "τὸν ἀρχισυνάγωγον, ἔτυπτον ἔμπροσθεν τοῦ βήματος: and he drove them "away from the judgment-seat; and they all," viz. the crowd of Jews whom the judge had bid begone, "took Sosthenes, and beat him "before the judgment-seat." It is certain that, as the whole body of the people were Greeks, the application of *all* to them is unusual and hard. If I was describing an insurrection at Paris, I might say *all* the Jews, *all* the Protestants, or *all* the English acted so and so; but I should scarcely say *all* the French, when the whole mass of the community were of that description. As what is here offered is founded upon a various reading, and that in opposition to the greater part of the manuscripts that are extant, I have not given it a place in the text.

[A simpler explanation of this difficulty is proposed, on Acts, xviii. 17.]

“ it came to pass that Paul having passed through the “ upper coasts,” (viz. the above-named countries, called the upper coasts, as being the northern part of Asia Minor) “ came to Ephesus.” Acts, xviii. 23; xix. 1. These therefore, probably, were the last churches at which he had left directions for their public conduct during his absence. Although two years intervened between his journey to Ephesus and his writing this epistle, yet it does not appear that during that time he visited any other church. That he had not been silent when he was in Galatia [for the first time, A. xvi. 6.], upon this subject of contribution for the poor, is farther made out from a hint which he lets fall in his epistle to that church : [ii. 11.] “ Only they (viz. the other apostles) would that “ we should remember the poor, the same also which I was “ forward to do.”

No. XI.

Chap. iv. 18. “ Now, some are puffed up, as though “ I would not come to you.”

Why should they suppose that he would not come? Turn to the first chapter of the Second Epistle [vv. 15. . 18.] to the Corinthians, and you will find that he had already *disappointed* them : “ I was minded to come unto “ you before, that you might have a second benefit ; and “ to pass by you into Macedonia, and to come again out “ of Macedonia unto you, and of you to be brought on “ my way toward Judea. When I, therefore, was thus “ minded, did I use lightness? Or the things that I “ purpose, do I purpose according to the flesh, that with “ me there should be yea, yea, and nay, nay? But, as “ God is true, our word towards you was not yea and “ nay.” It appears from this quotation, that he had not only intended, but that he had promised them a visit before ; for, otherwise, why should he apologise for the change of his purpose, or express so much anxiety, lest this change should be imputed to any culpable fickleness in his temper ; and lest he should thereby seem to them, as

one whose word was not, in any sort, to be depended upon? Besides which, the terms made use of plainly refer to a promise: "Our *word toward you* was not yea "and nay." St. Paul therefore had signified an intention which he had not been able to execute; and this seeming breach of his word, and the delay of his visit, had, with some who were evil affected towards him, given birth to a suggestion that he would come no more to Corinth.

No. XII.

Chap. v. 7, 8. "For even Christ, our passover, is "sacrificed for us; therefore let us keep the feast, not "with old leaven, neither with the leaven of malice and "wickedness, but with the unleavened bread of sincerity "and truth."

Dr. Benson tells us, that from this passage, compared with chapter xvi. 8, it has been conjectured that this epistle was written about the time of the Jewish passover; and to me the conjecture appears to be very well founded. The passage to which Dr. Benson refers us is this: "I "will tarry at Ephesus until Pentecost." With this passage he ought to have joined another in the same context: [v. 6.] "And it may be that I will abide, yea and "winter with you:" for, from the two passages laid together, it follows that the epistle was written before Pentecost, yet after winter; which necessarily determines the date to the part of the year, within which the passover falls. It was written before Pentecost, because he says, "I will tarry at Ephesus until Pentecost." It was written after winter, because he tells them, "It may be "that I may abide, yea and winter with you." The winter which the apostle purposed to pass at Corinth, was undoubtedly the winter next ensuing to the date of the epistle; yet it was a winter subsequent to the ensuing Pentecost, because he did not intend to set forwards upon his journey [into Macedonia] till after that feast. The words "let us keep the feast, not with old leaven, neither "with the leaven of malice and wickedness, but with the

“ unleavened bread of sincerity and truth,” look very like words suggested by the season ; at least they have, upon that supposition, a force and significancy which do not belong to them upon any other ; and it is not a little remarkable, that the hints casually dropped in the epistle, concerning particular parts of the year, should coincide with this supposition.

CHAP. IV.

THE SECOND EPISTLE TO THE CORINTHIANS.

No. I.

I WILL not say that it is impossible, having seen the First Epistle to the Corinthians, to construct a second with ostensible allusions to the first ; or that it is impossible that both should be fabricated, so as to carry on an order and continuation of story, by successive references to the same events. But I say, that this, in either case, must be the effect of craft and design. Whereas, whoever examines the allusions to the former epistle, which he finds in this, whilst he will acknowledge them to be such as would rise spontaneously to the hand of the writer, from the very subject of the correspondence, and the situation of the corresponding parties, supposing these to be real, will see no particle of reason to suspect, either that the clauses containing these allusions were *insertions* for the purpose, or that the several transactions of the Corinthian church were feigned, in order to form a train of narrative, or to support the appearance of connection between the two epistles.

1. In the First Epistle, St. Paul announces his intention of passing through Macedonia, in his way to Corinth : “ I will come to you when I shall pass through Macedonia.” In the Second Epistle, we find him arrived in

Macedonia, and about to pursue his journey to Corinth. But observe the manner in which this is made to appear : “ I know the forwardness of your mind, for which I boast “ of you to them of Macedonia, that Achaia was ready a “ year ago, and your zeal hath provoked very many : yet “ have I sent the brethren, lest our boasting of you should “ be in vain in this behalf ; that, as I said, ye may be “ ready, lest haply, if they of Macedonia come with me, “ and find you unprepared, we (that we say not, ye) should “ be ashamed in this same confident boasting ; ” (ix. 2, 3, 4.) St. Paul’s being in Macedonia at the time of writing the epistle, is, in this passage, inferred only from his saying, that he had boasted to the Macedonians of the alacrity of his Achaian converts ; and from the fear which he expresses, lest, if any of the Macedonian Christians should come with him into Achaia, they should find his boasting unwarranted by the event. The business of the contribution is the sole cause of mentioning Macedonia at all. Will it be insinuated that this passage was framed merely to state that St. Paul was now in Macedonia ; and, by that statement, to produce an apparent agreement with the purpose of visiting Macedonia, notified in the First Epistle ? Or will it be thought probable, that, if a sophist had meant to place St. Paul in Macedonia, for the sake of giving countenance to his forgery, he would have done it in so oblique a manner as through the medium of the contribution ?

The same thing may be observed of another text in the epistle, in which the name of Macedonia occurs : [ii. 12, 13.] “ Furthermore, when I came to Troas to preach Christ’s “ gospel, and a door was opened unto me of the Lord, I “ had no rest in my spirit, because I found not Titus, my “ brother ; but taking my leave of them, I went from “ thence into Macedonia.” I mean, that it may be observed of this passage also, that there is a reason for mentioning Macedonia, entirely distinct from the purpose of showing St. Paul to be *there*. Indeed, if the passage before us show that point at all, it shows it so obscurely, that Grotius, though he did not doubt that Paul was now in Macedonia, refers this text to a different journey. Is

this the hand of a forger, meditating to establish a false conformity?

The text, however, in which it is most strongly implied that St. Paul wrote the present epistle from Macedonia, is found in the fourth, fifth, and sixth verses of the seventh chapter: "I am filled with comfort, I am exceeding joyful in all our tribulation; for when we were come into Macedonia, our flesh had no rest; without were fightings, within were fears; nevertheless God, that comforteth those that are cast down, comforted us by the coming of Titus." Yet even here, I think, no one will contend, that St. Paul's coming to Macedonia, or being in Macedonia, was the principal thing intended to be told; or that the telling of it, indeed, was any part of the intention with which the text was written; or that the mention even of the name of Macedonia was not purely incidental, in the description of those tumultuous sorrows with which the writer's mind had been lately agitated, and from which he was relieved by the coming of Titus. The five first verses of the eighth chapter, which commend the liberality of the Macedonian churches, do not, in my opinion, by themselves prove St. Paul to have been in Macedonia, at the time of writing the epistle.

2. In the First Epistle, St. Paul denounces a severe censure against an incestuous marriage, which had taken place amongst the Corinthian converts, with the connivance, not to say with the approbation, of the church; and enjoins the church to purge itself of this scandal, by expelling the offender from its society: "It is reported commonly, that there is fornication among you, and such fornication as is not so much as named amongst the Gentiles, that one should have his father's wife; and ye are puffed up, and have not rather mourned, that he that hath done this deed might be taken away from among you; for I, verily, as absent in body, but present in spirit, have judged already, as though I were present, concerning him that hath so done this deed; in the name of our Lord Jesus Christ, when ye are gathered together, and my spirit, with the power of our Lord Jesus Christ, to deliver such a one unto Satan for

“the destruction of the flesh, that the spirit may be saved
 “in the day of the Lord;” (v. 1—5.) In the Second
 Epistle, we find this sentence executed, and the offender
 to be so affected with the punishment, that St. Paul now
 intercedes for his restoration: “Sufficient to such a man
 “is this punishment, which was inflicted of many, so that,
 “contrariwise, ye ought rather to forgive him and com-
 “fort him, lest perhaps such a one should be swallowed
 “up with over-much sorrow; wherefore I beseech you,
 “that ye would confirm your love towards him.” (2 Cor.
 ii. 6, 7, 8.) Is this whole business feigned for the sake
 of carrying on a continuation of story through the two
 epistles? The church also, no less than the offender,
 was brought by St. Paul’s reproof to a deep sense of the
 impropriety of their conduct. Their penitence, and their
 respect to his authority, were, as might be expected, ex-
 ceedingly grateful to St. Paul: “We were comforted,
 “not by Titus’s coming only, but by the consolation
 “wherewith he was comforted in you, when he told us
 “your earnest desire, your mourning, your fervent mind
 “towards me, so that I rejoiced the more; for, though I
 “made you sorry with a letter, I do not repent, though I
 “did repent; for I perceive that the same epistle hath
 “made you sorry, though it were but for a season. Now
 “I rejoice, not that ye were made sorry, but that ye
 “sorrowed to repentance; for ye were made sorry after a
 “godly manner, that ye might receive damage by us in
 “nothing;” (vii. 7—9.) That this passage is to be
 referred to the incestuous marriage, is proved by the
 twelfth verse of the same chapter: “Though I wrote
 “unto you, I did it not for his cause that had done the
 “wrong, nor for his cause that suffered wrong; but that
 “our care for you, in the sight of God, might appear
 “unto you.” There were, it is true, various topics of
 blame noticed in the First Epistle; but there was none,
 except this of the incestuous marriage, which could be
 called a transaction between private parties, or of which it
 could be said that one particular person had “done the
 wrong,” and another particular person “had suffered it.”
 Could all this be without foundation? or could it be put

into the Second Epistle, merely to furnish an obscure sequel to what had been said about an incestuous marriage in the First ?

3. In the sixteenth chapter of the First Epistle, a collection for the saints is recommended to be set forwards at Corinth : " Now, concerning the collection for the " saints, as I have given order [lately, A. xviii. 23.] to " the churches of Galatia, so do ye ;" (xvi. 1.) In the ninth chapter of the Second Epistle, such a collection is spoken of, as in readiness to be received : " As touching " the ministering to the saints, it is superfluous for me to " write to you, for I know the forwardness of your mind, " for which I boast of you to them of Macedonia, that " Achaia was ready a year ago, and your zeal hath provoked " very many ;" (ix. 1, 2.) This is such a continuation of the transaction as might be expected ; or, possibly it will be said, as might easily be counterfeited : but there is a circumstance of nicety in the agreement between the two epistles, which, I am convinced, the author of a forgery would not have hit upon, or which, if he had hit upon it, he would have set forth with more clearness. The Second Epistle speaks of the Corinthians as having begun this eleemosynary business a year before : " This is expedient " for you, who have begun before, not only to do, but also " to be forward a year ago ;" (viii. 10.) " I boast of you " to them of Macedonia, that Achaia was ready a year " ago ;" (ix. 2.) From these texts it is evident, that something had been done in the business a year before. It appears, however, from other texts in the epistle, that the contribution was not yet collected or paid ; for brethren were sent from St. Paul to Corinth, " to make up their " bounty ;" (ix. 5.) They are urged to " perform the " doing of it ;" (viii. 11.) " And every man was exhorted " to give as he purposed in his heart ;" (ix. 7.) The contribution therefore, as represented in our present epistle, was in readiness, yet not received from the contributors ; was begun, was forward long before, yet not hitherto collected. Now this representation agrees with one, and only with one supposition, namely, that every man had laid by in store, had already provided the fund, from which he

was afterwards to contribute — the very case which the First Epistle authorises us to suppose to have existed; for in that epistle St. Paul had charged the Corinthians, “upon the first day of the week, every one of them to lay by in store as God had prospered him.”* (1 Cor. xvi. 2.)

* The following observations will satisfy us concerning the purity of our apostle’s conduct in the suspicious business of a pecuniary contribution.

1. He disclaims the having received any inspired authority for the directions which he is giving: “I speak not by commandment, but by occasion of the forwardness of others, and to prove the sincerity of your love.” (2 Cor. viii. 8.) Who, that had a sinister purpose to answer by the recommending of subscriptions, would thus distinguish, and thus lower the credit of his own recommendation?

2. Although he asserts the general right of christian ministers to a maintenance from their ministry, yet he protests against the making use of this right in his own person: “Even so hath the Lord ordained, that they which preach the gospel should live of the gospel; but I have used none of these things, neither have I written these things that it should be so done unto me; for it were better for me to die, than that any man should make my glorying, i. e. my professions of disinterestedness, void.” (1 Cor. ix. 14, 15.)

3. He repeatedly proposes that there should be associates with himself in the management of the public bounty; not colleagues of his own appointment, but persons elected for that purpose by the contributors themselves: “And when I come, whomsoever ye shall approve by your letters, them will I send to bring your liberality unto Jerusalem; and if it be meet that I go also, they shall go with me.” (1 Cor. xvi. 3, 4.) And in the Second Epistle, what is here proposed, we find actually done, and done for the very purpose of guarding his character against any imputation that might be brought upon it, in the discharge of a pecuniary trust: “And we have sent with him the brother, whose praise is in the gospel throughout all the churches; and not that only, but who was also chosen of the churches to travel with us with this grace (gift) which is administered by us to the glory of the same Lord and declaration of your ready mind; avoiding this, that no man should blame us in this abundance which is administered by us; providing for things honest, not only in the sight of the Lord, but also in the sight of men;” i. e. “not resting in the consciousness of our own integrity, but in such a subject, careful also to approve our integrity to the public judgment.” (2 Cor. viii. 18—21.)

No. II.

In comparing the Second Epistle to the Corinthians with the Acts of the Apostles, we are soon brought to observe, not only that there exists no vestige either of the epistle having been taken from the history, or the history from the epistle ; but also that there appears in the contents of the epistle positive evidence, that neither was borrowed from the other. Titus, who bears a conspicuous part in the epistle, is not mentioned in the Acts of the Apostles at all. St. Paul's sufferings enumerated, chap. xi. 24, " Of the Jews five times received I forty stripes save one ; thrice was I beaten with rods ; once was I stoned ; thrice I suffered shipwreck ; a night and a day I have been in the deep," cannot be made out from his history, as delivered in the Acts, nor would this account have been given by a writer, who either drew his knowledge of St. Paul from that history, or who was careful to preserve a conformity with it. The account in the epistle, of St. Paul's escape from Damascus, though agreeing in the main fact with the account of the same transaction in the Acts, is related with such difference of circumstance, as renders it utterly improbable that one should be derived from the other. The two accounts, placed by the side of each other, stand as follows :

2 Cor. xi. 32, 33. " In Damascus, the governor under Aretas the king, kept the city of the Damascenes [*ἐφρούρει*] with a garrison, desirous to apprehend me ; and through a window in a basket [*ἐν σαργάνῃ*] was I let down by the wall, and escaped his hands."

Acts, ix. 23—25. " And after many days were fulfilled, the Jews took counsel to kill him ; but their laying in wait was known of Saul, and they watched [*παρετήρουν*] the gates day and night to kill him ; then the disciples took him by night, and let him down by the wall [*ἐν σκυρίδι*] in a basket."

Now if we be satisfied in general concerning these two ancient writings, that the one was not known to the writer of the other, or not consulted by him ; then the accord-

ances which may be pointed out between them, will admit of no solution so probable, as the attributing of them to truth and reality, as to their common foundation.

No. III.

The opening of this epistle exhibits a connection with the history, which alone would satisfy my mind, that the epistle was written by St. Paul, and by St. Paul in the situation in which the history places him. Let it be remembered, that in the nineteenth chapter of the Acts, St. Paul is represented as driven away from Ephesus, or as leaving however Ephesus, in consequence of an uproar in that city, excited by some interested adversaries of the new religion. The account of the tumult is as follows : [xix. 28 . . .] “ When they heard these sayings,” viz. Demetrius’s complaint of the danger to be apprehended from St. Paul’s ministry to the established worship of the Ephesian goddess, “ they were full of wrath, and cried out, saying, Great is Diana of the Ephesians ; and the whole city was filled with confusion ; and having caught Gaius and Aristarchus, Paul’s companions in travel, they rushed with one accord into the theatre ; and when Paul would have entered in unto the people, the disciples suffered him not ; and certain of the chief of Asia, which were his friends, sent unto him, desiring that he would not adventure himself into the theatre. Some, therefore, cried one thing, and some another ; for the assembly was confused, and the more part knew not wherefore they were come together. And they drew Alexander out of the multitude, the Jews putting him forward ; and Alexander beckoned with the hand, and would have made his defence unto the people ; but, when they knew that he was a Jew, all, with one voice, about the space of two hours, cried out, Great is Diana of the Ephesians. — And after the uproar was ceased, Paul called unto him the disciples, and embraced them, and departed for to go into Macedonia.” When he was arrived in Macedonia, he wrote the Second Epistle to the

Corinthians, which is now before us ; and he begins his epistle in this wise : “ Blessed be God, even the father of
 “ our Lord Jesus Christ, the father of mercies, and the
 “ God of all comfort, who comforteth us in all our tribulation, that we may be able to comfort them which
 “ are in any trouble, by the comfort wherewith we ourselves are comforted of God. For, as the sufferings of
 “ Christ abound in us, so our consolation also aboundeth
 “ by Christ : and whether we be afflicted, it is for your
 “ consolation and salvation, which is effectual in the enduring of the same sufferings, which we also suffer ; or
 “ whether we be comforted, it is for your consolation and
 “ salvation ; and our hope of you is steadfast, knowing
 “ that, as ye are partakers of the sufferings, so shall ye
 “ be also of the consolation. For we would not, brethren,
 “ have you ignorant of our trouble *which came to us in*
 “ *Asia*, that we were pressed out of measure, above
 “ strength, insomuch that we despaired even of life ; but
 “ we had the sentence of death in ourselves, that we
 “ should not trust in ourselves, but in God which raiseth
 “ the dead, who delivered us from so great a death, and
 “ doth deliver ; in whom we trust that he will yet deliver
 “ us.” Nothing could be more expressive of the circumstances in which the history describes St. Paul to have been, at the time when the epistle purports to be written ; or rather, nothing could be more expressive of the sensations arising from these circumstances, than this passage. It is the calm recollection of a mind emerged from the confusion of instant danger. It is that devotion and solemnity of thought, which follows a recent deliverance. There is just enough of particularity in the passage, to show that it is to be referred to the tumult at Ephesus : “ We would not, brethren, have you ignorant of our trouble which came to us in Asia.” And there is nothing more ; no mention of Demetrius, of the seizure of St. Paul’s friends, of the interference of the town clerk, of the occasion or nature of the danger which St. Paul had escaped, or even of the city where it happened ; in a word, no recital from which a suspicion could be conceived, either that the author of the epistle had made use of the

narrative in the Acts ; or, on the other hand, that he had sketched the outline, which the narrative in the Acts only filled up. That the forger of an epistle, under the name of St. Paul, should borrow circumstances from a history of St. Paul then extant ; or, that the author of a history of St. Paul should gather materials from letters bearing St. Paul's name, may be credited : but I cannot believe that any forger whatever should fall upon an expedient so refined, as to exhibit sentiments adapted to a situation, and to leave his readers to seek out that situation from the history ; still less, that the author of a history should go about to frame facts and circumstances, fitted to supply the sentiments which he found in the letter. It may be said, perhaps, that it does not appear from the history, that any danger threatened St. Paul's life in the uproar at Ephesus, so imminent as that from which, in the epistle, he represents himself to have been delivered. This matter, it is true, is not stated by the historian in form ; but the personal danger of the apostle, we cannot doubt, must have been extreme, when the " whole city was filled with confusion ;" when the populace had " seized his companions ;" when, in the distraction of his mind, he insisted upon " coming forth amongst them ;" when the Christians who were about him " would not suffer him ;" when " his friends, certain of the chief of Asia, sent to " him, desiring that he would not adventure himself in " the tumult ;" when, lastly, he was obliged to quit immediately the place and the country, " and, when the " tumult was ceased, to depart into Macedonia." All which particulars are found in the narration, and justify " St. Paul's own account, " that he was pressed out of " measure, above strength, insomuch that he despaired " even of life, that he had the sentence of death in him- " self ;" *i. e.* that he looked upon himself as a man condemned to die.

No. IV.

It has already been remarked [1 Cor. No. XI.], that St. Paul's original intention was to have visited Corinth in his way to Macedonia: "I was minded to come unto you before, and to pass by you into Macedonia." (2 Cor. i. 15, 16.) It has also been remarked that he changed this intention, and ultimately resolved upon going through Macedonia *first*. Now upon this head there exists a circumstance of correspondency between our epistle and the history, which is not very obvious to the reader's observation; but which, when observed, will be found, I think, close and exact. Which circumstance is this: that though the change of St. Paul's intention be expressly mentioned only in the Second Epistle, yet it appears, both from the history and from this Second Epistle, that the change had taken place before the writing of the First Epistle; that it appears however from neither, otherwise than by an inference, unnoticed perhaps by almost every one who does not sit down professedly to the examination.

First, then, how does this point appear from the history? In the nineteenth chapter of the Acts, and the twenty-first verse, we are told, that "Paul purposed in the spirit, when he had passed through Macedonia and Achaia, to go to Jerusalem. So he sent into Macedonia two of them that ministered unto him, Timotheus and Erastus; but he himself stayed in Asia for a season." A short time after this, and evidently in pursuance of the same intention, we find (xx. 1, 2.) that "Paul departed from Ephesus for to go into Macedonia; and that, when he had gone over those parts, he came into Greece." The resolution therefore of passing first through Macedonia, and from thence into Greece, was formed by St. Paul previously to the sending away of Timothy. The order in which the two countries are mentioned, shows the direction of his intended route, "when he had passed through Macedonia and Achaia." Timothy and Erastus, who were to precede him in his progress, were sent by him from Ephesus into Macedonia. He himself a short time

afterwards, and, as hath been observed, evidently in continuation and pursuance of the same design, “departed “for to go into Macedonia.” If he had ever therefore entertained a different plan of his journey, which is not hinted in the history, he must have changed that plan before this time. But, from the seventeenth verse of the fourth chapter of the First Epistle to the Corinthians, we discover, that Timothy had been sent away from Ephesus before that epistle was written : “For this cause have I “sent unto you Timotheus, who is my beloved son.” The change therefore of St. Paul’s resolution, which was prior to the sending away of Timothy, was necessarily prior to the writing of the First Epistle to the Corinthians.

Thus stands the order of dates, as collected from the history, compared with the First Epistle. Now let us inquire, secondly, how this matter is represented in the epistle before us. In the sixteenth verse of the first chapter of this epistle, St. Paul speaks of the intention which he had once entertained of visiting Achaia, in his way to Macedonia : “In this confidence I was minded “to come unto you before, that ye might have a second “benefit ; and to pass by you into Macedonia.” After protesting, in the seventeenth verse, against any evil construction that might be put upon his laying aside of this intention, in the twenty-third verse he discloses the cause of it : “Moreover I call God for a record upon my soul, “that, to spare you, I came not as yet unto Corinth.” And then he proceeds as follows : “But I determined “this with myself, that I would not come again to you “in heaviness ; for if I make you sorry, who is he then “that maketh me glad, but the same which is made sorry “by me ? *And I wrote the same unto you*, lest when “I came I should have sorrow from them of whom I “ought to rejoice ; having confidence in you all, that “my joy is the joy of you all : for, out of much affliction “and anguish of heart, *I wrote unto you with many “tears* ; not that ye should be grieved, but that ye might “know the love which I have more abundantly unto you ; “but if any have caused grief, he hath not grieved me “but in part, that I may not overcharge you all. Suf-

“ficient to such a man is this punishment, which was “inflicted of many.” In this quotation, let the reader first direct his attention to the clause marked by *Italics*, “and I wrote this same unto you;” and let him consider, whether from the context, and from the structure of the whole passage, it be not evident that this writing was after St. Paul had “determined with himself, that he “would not come again to them in heaviness?” whether, indeed, it was not in consequence of this determination, or at least with this determination upon his mind? And, in the next place, let him consider, whether the sentence, “I determined this with myself, that I would not come “again to you in heaviness,” do not plainly refer to that postponing of his visit, to which he had alluded in the verse but one before, when he said, “I call God for a “record upon my soul, that, to spare you, I came not as “yet to Corinth;” and whether this be not the visit of which he speaks in the sixteenth verse, wherein he informs the Corinthians, “that he had been minded to pass “by them into Macedonia;” but that, for reasons which argued no levity or fickleness in his disposition, he had been compelled to change his purpose. If this be so, then it follows that the writing here mentioned was posterior to the change of his intention. The only question, therefore, that remains will be, whether this writing relate to the letter which we now have under the title of the First Epistle to the Corinthians, or to some other letter not extant? And upon this question I think Mr. Locke’s observation decisive; namely, that the second clause marked in the quotation by *Italics*, “I wrote unto you with many “tears,” and the first clause so marked, “I wrote this “same unto you,” belong to one writing, whatever that was; and that the second clause goes on to advert to a circumstance which is found in our present First Epistle to the Corinthians; namely, the case and punishment of the incestuous person. Upon the whole then we see, that it is capable of being inferred from St. Paul’s own words, in the long extract which we have quoted, that the First Epistle to the Corinthians was written after St. Paul had determined to postpone his journey to Corinth; in other

words, that the change of his purpose, with respect to the course of his journey, though expressly mentioned only in the Second Epistle, had taken place before the writing of the First ; the point which we made out to be implied in the history, by the order of the events there recorded, and the allusions to those events in the First Epistle. Now this is a species of congruity of all others the most to be relied upon. It is not an agreement between two accounts of the same transaction, or between different statements of the same fact, for the fact is not stated ; nothing that can be called an account is given ; but it is the junction of two conclusions, deduced from independent sources, and deducible only by investigation and comparison.

This point, viz. the change of the route, being prior to the writing of the First Epistle, also falls in with, and accounts for, the manner in which he speaks in that epistle of his journey. His first intention had been, as he here declares, to "pass by them into Macedonia ;" that intention having been previously given up, he writes, in his First Epistle, "that he would not see them now by the way," i. e. as he must have done upon his first plan ; "but that he trusted to tarry awhile with them, and possibly to abide, yea and winter with them." (1 Cor. xvi. 5, 6.) It also accounts for a singularity in the text referred to, which must strike every reader : "I will come to you when I pass through Macedonia ; for I do pass through Macedonia." The supplemental sentence, "for I do pass through Macedonia," imports that there had been some previous communication upon the subject of the journey ; and also that there had been some vacillation and indecisiveness in the apostle's plan ; both which we now perceive to have been the case. The sentence is as much as to say, "this is what I at last resolve upon." The expression "*ὅταν Μακεδονίαν διέλθω*," is ambiguous ; it may denote either "when I pass, or when I shall have passed, through Macedonia : " the considerations offered above fix it to the latter sense. Lastly, the point we have endeavoured to make out, confirms, or rather indeed is necessary to the support of a conjecture, which

forms the subject of a number [No. XI.] in our observations upon the First Epistle, that the insinuation of certain of the church of Corinth, that he would come no more amongst them, was founded in some previous disappointment of their expectations.

No. V.

But if St. Paul had changed his purpose before the writing of the First Epistle, why did he defer explaining himself to the Corinthians, concerning the reason of that change, until he wrote the Second? This is a very fair question; and we are able, I think, to return to it a satisfactory answer. The real cause, and the cause at length assigned by St. Paul, for postponing his visit to Corinth, and not travelling by the route which he had at first designed, was the disorderly state of the Corinthian church at the time, and the painful severities which he should have found himself obliged to exercise, if he had come amongst them during the existence of these irregularities. He was willing therefore to try, before he came in person, what a letter of authoritative objurgation would do amongst them, and to leave time for the operation of the experiment. That was his scheme in writing the First Epistle. But it was not for him to acquaint them with the scheme. After the epistle had produced its effect (and to the utmost extent, as it should seem, of the apostle's hopes); when it had wrought in them a deep sense of their fault, and an almost passionate solicitude to restore themselves to the approbation of their teacher; when Titus (vii. 6, 7. 11.) had brought him intelligence "of their earnest desire, their mourning, their fervent mind towards him," of their sorrow and their penitence; "what carefulness, what clearing of themselves, what indignation, what fear, what vehement desire, what zeal, what revenge," his letter, and the general concern occasioned by it, had excited amongst them; he then opens himself fully upon the subject. The affectionate mind of the apostle is touched by this return of zeal and duty. He tells them

that he did not visit them at the time proposed, lest their meeting should have been attended with mutual grief; and with grief to him embittered by the reflection, that he was giving pain to those, from whom alone he could receive comfort: "I determined this with myself, that I "would not come again to you in heaviness; for if I "make you sorry, who is he that maketh me glad but "the same which is made sorry by me?" (ii. 1, 2.) that he had written his former epistle to warn them beforehand of their fault, "lest when he came, he should have "sorrow of them of whom he ought to rejoice;" (ii. 3.) that he had the farther view, though perhaps unperceived by them, of making an experiment of their fidelity, "to "know the proof of them, whether they were obedient in "all things;" (ii. 9.) This full discovery of his motive came very naturally from the apostle, after he had seen the success of his measures, but would not have been a seasonable communication before. The whole composes a train of sentiment and of conduct resulting from real situation, and from real circumstance, and as remote as possible from fiction or imposture.

No. VI.

Chap. xi. 9. "When I was present with you and "wanted, I was chargeable to no man; for that which "was lacking to me, the brethren which came from "Macedonia supplied." The principal fact set forth in this passage, the arrival at Corinth of brethren from Macedonia during St. Paul's first residence in that city, is explicitly recorded, Acts, xviii. 1. 5: "After these "things Paul departed from Athens, and came to "Corinth. . . And when Silas and Timotheus were come "from Macedonia, Paul was pressed in spirit, and "testified to the Jews that Jesus was Christ."

No. VII. 2 COR. i. 19.

The above quotation from the Acts proves that Silas and Timotheus were assisting to St. Paul in preaching the gospel at Corinth. With which correspond the words of the epistle (i. 19.): "For the Son of God, Jesus Christ, who was preached among you by us, even by me, and Silvanus, and Timotheus, was not yea and nay, but in him was yea." I do admit that the correspondency, considered by itself, is too direct and obvious; and that an impostor with the history before him might, and probably would, produce agreements of the same kind. But let it be remembered, that this reference is found in a writing, which from many discrepancies, and especially from those noted No. II., we may conclude, was not composed by any one who had consulted, and who pursued the history. Some observation also arises upon the variation of the name. We read Silas in the Acts, Silvanus in the epistle. The similitude of these two names, if they were the names of different persons, is greater than could easily have proceeded from accident; I mean that it is not probable, that two persons placed in situations so much alike, should bear names so nearly resembling each other.* On the other hand, the difference of the name in the two passages negatives the supposition of the passages, or the account contained in them, being transcribed either from the other.

No. VIII.

Chap. ii. 12, 13. "When I came to Troas to preach Christ's gospel, and a door was opened unto me of the Lord, I had no rest in my spirit, because I found not Titus, my brother; but, taking my leave of them, I went from thence into Macedonia."

* That they were the same person is farther confirmed by 1 Thess. i. 1. compared with Acts, xvii. 10.

To establish a conformity between this passage and the history, nothing more is necessary to be presumed, than that St. Paul proceeded [Acts, xx. 1.] from Ephesus to Macedonia, upon the same course by which he came back [vv. 6 . . 15.] from Macedonia to Ephesus, or rather to Miletus in the neighbourhood of Ephesus ; in other words, that, in his journey to the peninsula of Greece, he went and returned the same way. St. Paul is now in Macedonia, where he had lately arrived from Ephesus. Our quotation imports that in his journey he had stopped at Troas. Of this, the history says nothing, leaving us only the short account, " that Paul departed from Ephesus, for to go " into Macedonia." But the history says, that in his *return* from Macedonia to Ephesus, Paul sailed from Philippi to *Troas* ; and that, when the disciples came together on the first day of the week to break bread, Paul preached unto them all night ; that from Troas he went by land to Assos ; from Assos, taking ship and coasting along the front of Asia Minor, he came by Mitylene to Miletus. Which account proves, first, that Troas lay in the way by which St. Paul passed between Ephesus and Macedonia ; secondly, that he had disciples there. In one journey between these two places, the epistle, and in another journey between the same places, the history makes him stop at this city. Of the first journey he is made to say, " that a door was in that city " opened unto him of the Lord ;" in the second we find disciples there collected around him, and the apostle exercising his ministry, with, what was even in him, more than ordinary zeal and labour. The epistle therefore is in this instance confirmed, if not by the terms, at least by the probability of the history ; a species of confirmation by no means to be despised, because, as far as it reaches, it is evidently uncontrived.

Grotius, I know, refers the arrival at Troas, to which the epistle alludes, to a different period, but I think very improbably ; for nothing appears to me more certain, than that the meeting with Titus, which St. Paul expected at Troas, was the same meeting which took place in Macedonia, viz. upon Titus's coming out of Greece. In the

quotation before us, he tells the Corinthians, "When I came to Troas, I had no rest in my spirit, because I found not Titus, my brother; but, taking my leave of them, I went from thence into Macedonia." Then in the seventh chapter [vv. 5, 6.] he writes, "When we were come into Macedonia, our flesh had no rest, but we were troubled on every side; without were fightings, within were fears; nevertheless God, that comforteth those that are cast down, comforted us by the coming of Titus." These two passages plainly relate to the same journey of Titus, in meeting with whom St. Paul had been disappointed at Troas, and rejoiced in Macedonia. And amongst other reasons which fix the former passage to the coming of Titus out of Greece, is the consideration, that it was nothing to the Corinthians that St. Paul did not meet with Titus at Troas, were it not that he was to bring intelligence from Corinth. The mention of the disappointment in this place, upon any other supposition, is irrelative.

No. IX.

Chap. xi. 24, 25. "Of the Jews five times received I forty stripes save one; thrice was I beaten with rods; once was I stoned; thrice I suffered shipwreck; a night and a day I have been in the deep."

These particulars cannot be extracted out of the Acts of the Apostles, which proves, as hath been already observed, that the epistle was not framed from the history; yet they are consistent with it, which, considering how numerically circumstantial the account is, is more than could happen to arbitrary and independent fictions. When I say that these particulars are *consistent* with the history, I mean, first, that there is no article in the enumeration which is contradicted by the history; secondly, that the history, though silent with respect to many of the facts here enumerated, has left space for the existence of these facts, consistent with the fidelity of its own narration.

First, no contradiction is discoverable between the

epistle and the history. When St. Paul says, *thrice* was I beaten with rods, although the history record only *one* beating with rods, viz. at Philippi, Acts, xvi. 22, 23, yet is there no contradiction. It is only the omission in one book of what is related in another. But had the history contained accounts of *four* beatings with rods, at the time of writing this epistle, in which St. Paul says that he had only suffered *three*, there would have been a contradiction properly so called. The same observation applies generally to the other parts of the enumeration, concerning which the history is silent : but there is one clause in the quotation particularly deserving of remark ; because, when confronted with the history, it furnishes the nearest approach to a contradiction, without a contradiction being actually incurred, of any I remember to have met with. “ *Once*,” saith St. Paul, “ was I stoned.” Does the history relate that St. Paul, prior to the writing of this epistle, had been stoned more than once ? The history mentions distinctly one occasion upon which St. Paul was stoned, viz. at Lystra in Lycaonia. “ Then came thither “ certain Jews from Antioch and Iconium, who persuaded “ the people ; and, having stoned Paul, drew him out of “ the city, supposing he had been dead ; ” (xiv. 19.) And it mentions also another occasion [vv. 5, 6.] in which “ an “ assault was made both of the Gentiles, and also of the “ Jews with their rulers, to use them despitefully, and to “ stone them ; but they were ware of it,” the history proceeds to tell us, “ and fled unto Lystra and Derbe.” This happened at Iconium, prior to the date of the epistle. Now had the assault been completed, had the history related that a stone was thrown, as it relates that preparations were made both by Jews and Gentiles to stone Paul and his companions, or even had the account of this transaction stopped, without going on to inform us that Paul and his companions were “ aware of their danger, and fled,” a contradiction between the history and the epistle would have ensued. Truth is necessarily consistent ; but it is scarcely possible that independent accounts, not having truth to guide them, should thus advance to the very brink of contradiction without falling into it.

Secondly, I say, that if the Acts of the Apostles be silent concerning many of the instances enumerated in the epistle, this silence may be accounted for from the plan and fabric of the history. The date of the epistle synchronises with the beginning of the twentieth chapter of the Acts. The part, therefore, of the history which precedes the twentieth chapter, is the only part in which can be found any notice of the persecutions to which St. Paul refers. Now it does not appear that the author of the history was with St. Paul until his departure from Troas, on his way to Macedonia, as related xvi. 10; or rather indeed the contrary appears. It is in this point of the history that the language changes. In the seventh and eighth verses of this chapter the third person is used. "After *they* were come to Mysia, *they* assayed to go into Bithynia, but the Spirit suffered them not; and *they*, passing by Mysia, came to Troas;" and the third person is in like manner constantly used throughout the foregoing part of the history. In the tenth verse of this chapter, the first person comes in: "After Paul had seen the vision, immediately *we* endeavoured to go into Macedonia; assuredly gathering that the Lord had called *us* to preach the gospel unto them." Now, from this time to the writing of the epistle, the history occupies four chapters: yet it is in these, if in any, that a regular or continued account of the apostle's life is to be expected; for how succinctly his history is delivered in the preceding part of the book, that is to say, from the time of his conversion to the time when the historian joined him at Troas, except the particulars of his conversion itself, which are related circumstantially, may be understood from the following observations.

The history of a period of sixteen years is comprised in less than three chapters; and of these a material part is taken up with discourses. After his conversion, he continued in the neighbourhood of Damascus, according to the history, for a certain considerable, though indefinite length of time, according to his own words (Gal. i. 18.), for three years; of which no other account is given than this short one [A. ix. 20—23.], that "straightway he

“preached Christ in the synagogues, that he is the Son of God ; that all that heard him were amazed, and said, ‘ Is not this he that destroyed them which called on this name in Jerusalem ? ’ that he increased the more in strength, and confounded the Jews which dwelt at Damascus ; and that, after many days were fulfilled, the Jews took counsel to kill him.” From Damascus he proceeded to Jerusalem ; and of his residence there [vv. 28, 29.] nothing more particular is recorded, than that he was with the apostles, coming in and going out ; that he spake boldly in the name of the Lord Jesus, and disputed against the Grecians who went about to slay him.” From Jerusalem, the history [v. 30.] sends him to his native city of Tarsus. It seems probable, from the order and disposition of the history, that St. Paul’s stay at Tarsus was of some continuance ; for we hear nothing more of him, until, after a long apparent interval, and much interjacent narrative, Barnabas, desirous of Paul’s assistance upon the enlargement of the Christian mission [xi. 25.], “went to Tarsus for to seek him.” We cannot doubt but that the new apostle had been busied in his ministry ; yet of what he did, or what he suffered, during this period, which may include three or four years, the history professes not to deliver any information. As Tarsus was situated upon the sea coast, and as, though Tarsus was his home, yet it is probable he visited from thence many other places, for the purpose of preaching the Gospel, it is not unlikely, that in the course of three or four years, he might undertake many short voyages to neighbouring countries, in the navigating of which we may be allowed to suppose that some of those disasters and shipwrecks befell him, to which he refers in the quotation before us, “ thrice I suffered shipwreck, a night and a day I have been in the deep.” This last clause I am inclined to interpret of his being obliged to take to an open boat, upon the loss of the ship, and his continuing out at sea in that dangerous situation, a night and a day. St. Paul is here recounting his sufferings, not relating miracles. From Tarsus Barnabas brought Paul to Antioch, and there he remained a year ; but of the transac-

tions of that year no other description is given than what is contained in the four last verses of the eleventh chapter. After a more solemn dedication to the ministry, Barnabas and Paul proceeded from Antioch to Cilicia, and from thence they sailed to Cyprus, of which voyage no particulars are mentioned. Upon their return from Cyprus, they made a progress together through the Lesser Asia ; and though two remarkable speeches be preserved, and a few incidents in the course of their travels circumstantially related, yet is the account of this progress, upon the whole, given professedly with conciseness : for instance, at Iconium it is said that they abode a long time ; [xiv. 3.] yet of this long abode, except concerning the manner in which they were driven away, no memoir is inserted in the history. The whole is wrapped up in one short summary, “they spake boldly in the Lord, which gave “testimony unto the word of his grace, and granted signs “and wonders to be done by their hands.” Having completed their progress, the two apostles returned to Antioch, “and there they abode long time with the “disciples ;” [v. 28.] Here we have another large portion of time passed over in silence. To this succeeded a journey to Jerusalem, upon a dispute which then much agitated the Christian church, concerning the obligation of the law of Moses. When the object of that journey was completed, Paul proposed to Barnabas to go again and visit their brethren in every city where they had preached the word of the Lord. The execution of this plan carried our apostle through Syria, Cilicia, and many provinces of the Lesser Asia ; yet is the account of the whole journey dispatched in four verses of the sixteenth chapter.

If the Acts of the Apostles had undertaken to exhibit regular annals of St. Paul’s ministry, or even any continued account of his life, from his conversion at Damascus to his imprisonment at Rome, I should have thought the omission of the circumstances referred to in our epistle, a matter of reasonable objection. But when it appears, from the history itself, that large portions of St. Paul’s life were either passed over in silence, or only slightly touched upon, and that nothing more than certain detached

incidents and discourses are related ; when we observe also, that the author of the history did not join our apostle's society till a few years before the writing of the epistle, at least that there is no proof in the history that he did so ; in comparing the history with the epistle, we shall not be surprised by the discovery of omissions ; we shall ascribe it to truth that there is no contradiction.

No. X.

Chap. iii. 1. "Do we begin again to commend ourselves ; or need we, as some others, epistles of commendation to you ?"

"As some others." Turn to Acts, xviii. 27, and you will find that, a short time before the writing of this epistle, Apollos had gone to Corinth with letters of commendation from the Ephesian Christians ; "and when Apollos was disposed to pass into Achaia, the brethren wrote, exhorting the disciples to receive him." Here the words of the epistle bear the appearance of alluding to some specific instance, and the history supplies that instance ; it supplies at least an instance as apposite as possible to the terms which the apostle uses, and to the date and direction of the epistle, in which they are found. The letter which Apollos carried from Ephesus, was precisely the letter of commendation which St. Paul meant ; and it was to Achaia, of which Corinth was the capital, and indeed to Corinth itself (Acts, xix. 1.), that Apollos carried it ; and it was about two years before the writing of this epistle. If St. Paul's words be rather thought to refer to some general usage which then obtained among Christian churches, the case of Apollos exemplifies that usage ; and affords that species of confirmation to the epistle, which arises from seeing the manners of the age, in which it purports to be written, faithfully preserved.

No. XI.

Chap. xiii. 1. "This is the third time I am coming to you (τρίτον τοῦτο ἔρχομαι)."

Do not these words import that the writer had been at Corinth twice before? yet, if they import this, they over-set every congruity we have been endeavouring to establish. The Acts of the Apostles [xviii. 1; xx. 2, 3.] record only two journeys of St. Paul to Corinth. We have all along supposed, what every mark of time except this expression indicates, that the epistle was written between the first and second of these journeys. If St. Paul had been already twice at Corinth, this supposition must be given up; and every argument or observation which depends upon it, falls to the ground. Again, the Acts of the Apostles not only record no more than two journeys of St. Paul to Corinth, but do not allow us to suppose that more than two such journeys could be made or intended by him within the period which the history comprises; for, from his first journey into Greece to his first imprisonment at Rome, with which the history concludes, the apostle's time is accounted for. If, therefore, the epistle was written after the second journey to Corinth, and upon the view and expectation of a third, it must have been written after his first imprisonment at Rome, *i. e.* after the time to which the history extends. When I first read over this epistle with the particular view of comparing it with the history, which I chose to do without consulting any commentary whatever, I own that I felt myself confounded by this text. It appeared to contradict the opinion, which I had been led by a great variety of circumstances to form, concerning the date and occasion of the epistle. At length, however, it occurred to my thoughts to inquire, whether the passage did necessarily imply that St. Paul had been at Corinth twice; or whether, when he says "this is the third time I am coming to you," he might mean only that this was the third time that he was ready, that he was prepared, that he intended to set out upon his journey to Corinth. I re-

collected that he had once before this purposed to visit Corinth, and had been disappointed in his purpose ; which disappointment forms the subject of much apology and protestation, in the first and second chapters of the epistle. Now, if the journey in which he had been disappointed was reckoned by him one of the times in which “ he was “ coming to them,” then the present would be the third time, *i. e.* of his being ready and prepared to come ; although he had been actually at Corinth only *once* before. This conjecture being taken up, a farther examination of the passage and the epistle produced proofs which placed it beyond doubt. “ This is the third time I am coming “ to you :” in the verse following these words he adds, “ I told you before, and foretel you, as if I were present “ *the second time* ; and being absent, now I write to “ them which heretofore have sinned, and to all other, “ that if I come again, I will not spare.” In this verse the apostle is declaring beforehand what he would do in his intended visit : his expression, therefore, “ as if I were “ present the second time,” relates to that visit. But, if his future visit would only make him present amongst them a second time, it follows that he had been already there but once. Again, in the fifteenth verse of the first chapter, he tells them, “ In this confidence, I was minded “ to come unto you before, that you might have a *second* “ benefit.” Why a second, and not a third benefit ? why *δευτέραν*, and not *τρίτην χάριν*, if the *τρίτον ἔρχομαι*, in the fifteenth chapter, meant a *third* visit ? for, though the visit in the first chapter be that visit in which he was disappointed, yet, as it is evident from the epistle that he had never been at Corinth from the time of the disappointment to the time of writing the epistle, it follows that if it was only a second visit in which he was disappointed then, it could only be a second visit which he proposed now. But the text which I think is decisive of the question, if any question remain upon the subject, is the fourteenth verse of the twelfth chapter : “ Behold, the third time I am ready to come to you.” (*Ἴδοὺ, τρίτον [τοῦτο] ἐτοίμως ἔχω ἐλθεῖν.*) It is very clear that the *τρίτον ἐτοίμως ἔχω ἐλθεῖν* of the twelfth chapter, and the *τρίτον*

τοῦτο ἔρχομαι of the thirteenth chapter, are equivalent expressions, were intended to convey the same meaning, and to relate to the same journey. The comparison of these phrases gives us St. Paul's own explanation of his own words ; and it is that very explanation which we are contending for, viz. that τρίτον τοῦτο ἔρχομαι does not mean that he was coming a third time, but that this was the third time he was in readiness to come, τρίτον ἐτοίμως ἔχων. I do not apprehend that after this it can be necessary to call to our aid the reading of the Alexandrian manuscript, which gives ἐτοίμως ἔχω ἐλθεῖν in the thirteenth chapter as well as in the twelfth ; or of the Syriac and Coptic versions, which follow that reading ; because I allow that this reading, besides not being sufficiently supported by ancient copies, is probably paraphrastical, and has been inserted for the purpose of expressing more unequivocally the sense, which the shorter expression τρίτον τοῦτο ἔρχομαι was supposed to carry. Upon the whole, the matter is sufficiently certain ; nor do I propose it as a new interpretation of the text which contains the difficulty, for the same was given by Grotius long ago ; but I thought it the clearest way of explaining the subject, to describe the manner in which the difficulty, the solution, and the proofs of that solution, successively presented themselves to my inquiries. Now, in historical researches, a reconciled inconsistency becomes a positive argument. First, because an impostor generally guards against the appearance of inconsistency ; and secondly, because, when apparent inconsistencies are found, it is seldom that any thing but truth renders them capable of reconciliation. The existence of the difficulty proves the want or absence of that caution, which usually accompanies the consciousness of fraud ; and the solution proves, that it is not the collision of fortuitous propositions which we have to deal with, but that a thread of truth winds through the whole, which preserves every circumstance in its place.

No. XII.

Chap. x. 14—16. “We are come as far as to you
 “also, in preaching the Gospel of Christ; not boasting
 “of things without our measure, that is, of other men’s
 “labours; but having hope, when your faith is increased,
 “that we shall be enlarged by you according to our rule
 “abundantly, to preach the Gospel in the regions beyond
 “you.”

This quotation affords an indirect, and therefore unsuspecting, but at the same time a distinct and indubitable recognition of the truth and exactness of the history. I consider it to be implied by the words of the quotation, that Corinth was the extremity of St. Paul’s travels *hitherto*. He expresses to the Corinthians his hope, that in some future visit he might “preach the Gospel to the
 “regions beyond them;” which imports that he had not hitherto proceeded “beyond them,” but that Corinth was as yet the farthest point or boundary of his travels. Now, how is St. Paul’s first journey into [that more southern part of] Europe, which was the only one he had taken before the writing of this epistle, traced out in the history? Sailing from Asia, he landed at Philippi; from Philippi, traversing the eastern coast of the peninsula, he passed through Amphipolis and Apollonia to Thessalonica; from thence through Berea to Athens, and from Athens to Corinth, *where he stopped*; and from whence, after a residence of a year and a half, he sailed back into Syria. So that Corinth was the last place which he visited in the peninsula; was the place from which he returned into Asia; and was, as such, the boundary and limit of his progress. He could not have said the same thing, viz. “I hope hereafter to visit the regions beyond
 “you,” in an epistle to the Philippians, or in an epistle to the Thessalonians, inasmuch as he must be deemed to have already visited the regions beyond *them*, having proceeded from those cities to other parts of Greece. But from Corinth he returned home; every part, therefore, beyond that city, might properly be said, as it is said in

the passage before us, to be unvisited. Yet is this propriety the spontaneous effect of truth, and produced without meditation or design.

[When St. Paul at Philippi wrote thus to Corinth (and very soon after his arrival there from Troas he certainly would write) to testify the satisfaction which the tidings brought by Titus from the church of Corinth afforded to his mind, 2 Cor. vii. 6, it is most probable that the circumstances which invited him to advance westward as far as Illyricum, and to preach the Gospel in those parts, A. xx. 1, 2, had not yet occurred. But from No. IV., on Romans, xv. 19, this subsequent part of the Apostle's history may be now considered as clearly made out.]

CHAP. V.

THE EPISTLE TO THE GALATIANS.

No. I.

THE argument of this epistle in some measure proves its antiquity. It will hardly be doubted, but that it was written whilst the dispute concerning the circumcision of Gentile converts was fresh in men's minds; for, even supposing it to have been a forgery, the only credible motive that can be assigned for the forgery, was to bring the name and authority of the Apostle into this controversy. No design could be so insipid, or so unlikely to enter into the thoughts of any man, as to produce an epistle written earnestly and pointedly upon one side of a controversy, when the controversy itself was dead, and the question no longer interesting to any description of readers whatever. Now the controversy concerning the circumcision of the Gentile Christians was of such a nature, that, if it arose at all, it must have arisen in the beginning of Christianity. As Judæa was the scene of the Christian history; as the author and preachers of Christianity were Jews; as the religion itself acknowledged and was founded upon the Jewish religion, in

contradistinction to every other religion then professed amongst mankind; it was not to be wondered at, that some of its teachers should carry it out in the world rather as a sect and modification of Judaism, than as a separate, original revelation; or that they should invite their proselytes to those observances, in which they lived themselves. This was likely to happen: but if it did not happen *at first*; if, whilst the religion was in the hands of Jewish teachers, no such claim was advanced, no such condition was attempted to be imposed; it is not probable that the doctrine would be started, much less that it should prevail in any future period. I likewise think, that those pretensions of Judaism were much more likely to be insisted upon, whilst the Jews continued a nation, than after their fall and dispersion; whilst Jerusalem and the temple stood, than after the destruction brought upon them by the Roman arms, the fatal cessation of the sacrifice and the priesthood, the humiliating loss of their country, and, with it, of the great rites and symbols of their institution. It should seem, therefore, from the nature of the subject, and the situation of the parties, that this controversy was carried on in the interval between the preaching of Christianity to the Gentiles, and the invasion of Titus; and that our present epistle, which was undoubtedly intended to bear a part in this controversy, must be referred to the same period.

But, again, the epistle supposes that certain designing adherents of the Jewish law had crept into the churches of Galatia; and had been endeavouring, and but too successfully, to persuade the Galatic converts, that they had been taught the new religion imperfectly and at second hand; that the founder of their church himself possessed only an inferior and deputed commission, the seat of truth and authority being in the apostles and elders of Jerusalem; moreover, that whatever he might profess amongst them, he had himself at other times, and in other places, given way to the doctrine of circumcision.—The epistle is unintelligible without supposing all this. Referring therefore to this, as to what had actually passed, we find St. Paul treating so unjust an attempt to under-

mine his credit, and to introduce amongst his converts a doctrine which he had uniformly reprobated, in terms of great asperity and indignation. And in order to refute the suspicions which had been raised concerning the fidelity of his teaching, as well as to assert the independency and divine original of his mission, we find him appealing to the history of his conversion, to his conduct under it, to the manner in which he had conferred with the apostles when he met with them at Jerusalem; alleging, that so far was his doctrine from being derived from them, or they from exercising any superiority over him, that they had simply assented to what he had already preached amongst the Gentiles, and which preaching was communicated not by them to him, but by himself to them; that he had maintained the liberty of the Gentile church, by opposing, upon one occasion, an apostle to the face, when the timidity of his behaviour seemed to endanger it; that from the first, that all along, that to that hour, he had constantly resisted the claims of Judaism; and that the persecutions which he daily underwent, at the hands or by the instigation of the Jews, and of which he bore in his person the marks and scars, might have been avoided by him, if he had consented to employ his labours in bringing, through the medium of Christianity, converts over to the Jewish institution, for then "would the offence of the cross have ceased." Now an impostor who had forged the epistle for the purpose of producing St. Paul's authority in the dispute, which, as hath been observed, is the only credible motive that can be assigned for the forgery, might have made the apostle deliver his opinion upon the subject, in strong and decisive terms, or might have put his name to a train of reasoning and argumentation upon that side of the question, which the imposture was intended to recommend. I can allow the possibility of such a scheme as that. But for a writer, with this purpose in view, to feign a series of transactions supposed to have passed amongst the Christians of Galatia, and then to counterfeit expressions of anger and resentment excited by these transactions; to make the apostle travel back into his

own history, and into a recital of various passages of his life, some indeed directly, but others obliquely, and others even obscurely bearing upon the point in question ; in a word, to substitute narrative for argument, expostulation and complaint for dogmatic positions and controversial reasoning, in a writing properly controversial, and of which the aim and design was to support one side of a much agitated question — is a method so intricate, and so unlike the methods pursued by all other impostors, as to require very flagrant proofs of imposition to induce us to believe it to be one.

No. II.

In this number I shall endeavour to prove,

i. That the Epistle to the Galatians, and the Acts of the Apostles, were written without any communication with each other.

ii. That the epistle, though written without any communication with the history, by recital, implication, or reference, bears testimony to many of the facts contained in it.

I. The epistle and the Acts of the Apostles were written without any communication with each other.

To judge of this point, we must examine those passages in each, which describe the same transaction ; for if the author of either writing derived his information from the account which he had seen in the other, when he came to speak of the same transaction, he would follow that account. The history of St. Paul, at Damascus, as read in the Acts, and as referred to by the epistle, forms an instance of this sort. According to the Acts, Paul (after his conversion) was certain days with the “ disciples which “ were at Damascus ; and straightway he preached Christ “ in the synagogues, that he is the Son of God. But all “ that heard him were amazed, and said, Is not this he “ that destroyed them which called on this name in Jeru- “ salem, and came hither for that intent, that he might “ bring them bound unto the chief priests ? But Saul “ increased the more in strength, and confounded the

“Jews which dwelt at Damascus, proving that this is very Christ. And after that many days were fulfilled, the Jews took counsel to kill him ; but their laying await was known of Saul, and they watched the gates day and night to kill him. Then the disciples took him by night, and let him down by the wall in a basket ; and when Saul was come to Jerusalem, he assayed to join himself to the disciples.” Acts, ix. 19—26.

According to the epistle, [i. 15 . . 18.] “ When it pleased God, who separated me from my mother’s womb, and called me by his grace, to reveal his Son in me, that I might preach him among the heathen ; immediately I conferred not with flesh and blood, neither went I up to Jerusalem to them which were apostles before me ; but I went into Arabia, and returned again unto Damascus : then, after three years, I went up to Jerusalem.”

Beside the difference observable in the terms and general complexion of these two accounts, “ the journey into Arabia,” mentioned in the epistle, and omitted in the history, affords full proof that there existed no correspondence between these writers. If the narrative in the Acts had been made up from the epistle, it is impossible that this journey should have been passed over in silence ; if the epistle had been composed out of what the author had read of St. Paul’s history in the Acts, it is unaccountable that it should have been inserted.*

The journey to Jerusalem related in the second chapter [v. 1.] of the epistle (“ Then, fourteen years after, I went up again to Jerusalem”) supplies another example of the same kind. Either this was the journey described in the fifteenth chapter of the Acts, when Paul and Bar-

* N. B. The Acts of the Apostles simply inform us that St. Paul left Damascus in order to go to Jerusalem, “ after many days were fulfilled.” If any one doubt whether the words “ many days ” could be intended to express a period which included a term of three years, he will find a complete instance of the same phrase used with the same latitude in the first book of Kings, ii. 38, 39: “ And Shimei dwelt at Jerusalem *many days* ; and it came to pass, at the end of *three years*, that two of the servants of Shimei ran away.”

nabas were sent from Antioch to Jerusalem, to consult the apostles and elders upon the question of the Gentile converts ; or it was some journey of which the history does not take notice. If the first opinion be followed, the discrepancy in the two accounts is so considerable, that it is not without difficulty they can be adapted to the same transaction : so that, upon this supposition, there is no place for suspecting that the writers were guided or assisted by each other. If the latter opinion be preferred, we have then a journey to Jerusalem, and a conference with the principal members of the church there, circumstantially related in the epistle, and entirely omitted in the Acts : and we are at liberty to repeat the observation, which we before made, that the omission of so material a fact in the history is inexplicable, if the historian had read the epistle ; and that the insertion of it in the epistle, if the writer derived his information from the history, is not less so.

St. Peter's visit to Antioch, [Gal. ii. 11....] during which the dispute arose between him and St. Paul, is not mentioned in the Acts.

If we connect with these instances the general observation, that no scrutiny can discover the smallest trace of transcription or imitation either in things or words, we shall be fully satisfied in this part of our case ; namely, that the two records, be the facts contained in them true or false, come to our hands from independent sources.

ii. Secondly, I say that the epistle, thus proved to have been written without any communication with the history, bears testimony to a great variety of particulars contained in the history.

1. St. Paul, in the early part of his life, had addicted himself to the study of the Jewish religion, and was distinguished by his zeal for the institution and for the traditions which had been incorporated with it. Upon this part of his character the history makes St. Paul speak thus : " I am verily a man which am a Jew, born in " Tarsus, a city in Cilicia, yet brought up in this city at " the feet of Gamaliel, and taught according to the per-

“fect manner of the law of the fathers ; and was zealous
“towards God, as ye all are this day.” Acts, xxii. 3.

The epistle as follows : “ I profited in the Jews’ religion above many my equals in mine own nation, being
“more exceedingly zealous of the traditions of my fathers.” i. 14.

2. St. Paul, before his conversion, had been a fierce persecutor of the new sect. “ As for Saul, he made
“havoc of the church ; entering into every house, and
“haling men and women, committed them to prison.” Acts, viii. 3.

This is the history of St. Paul, as delivered in the Acts ; in the recital of his own history in the epistle, “ Ye have
“heard,” says he, “ of my conversation in times past in
“the Jews’ religion, how that beyond measure I persecuted the church of God.” i. 13.

3. St. Paul was miraculously converted on his way to Damascus. “ And as he journeyed, he came near to Damascus : and suddenly there shined round about him a
“light from heaven ; and he fell to the earth, and heard
“a voice saying unto him, Saul, Saul, why persecutest thou me ? And he said, Who art thou, Lord ? And
“the Lord said, I am Jesus, whom thou persecutest : it
“is hard for thee to kick against the pricks. And he,
“trembling and astonished, said, Lord, what wilt thou have me to do ?” Acts, ix. 3—6. With this compare the epistle, i. 15—17 : “ When it pleased God, who separated me from my mother’s womb, and called me by
“his grace, to reveal his Son in me, that I might preach
“him among the heathen ; immediately I conferred not
“with flesh and blood, neither went I up to Jerusalem
“to them which were apostles before me ; but I went
“into Arabia, and returned again unto Damascus.”

In this quotation from the epistle, I desire it to be remarked how incidentally it appears, that the affair passed at *Damascus*. In what may be called the direct part of the account, no mention is made of the place of his conversion at all ; a casual expression at the end, and an expression brought in for a different purpose, alone fixes it to have been at Damascus : “ I returned again to Da-

“*mascus.*” Nothing can be more like simplicity and undesignedness than this is. It also draws the agreement between the two quotations somewhat closer, to observe that they both state St. Paul to have preached the gospel immediately upon his call : “ And straightway he preached “ Christ in the synagogues, that he is the Son of God.” Acts, ix. 20. “ When it pleased God to reveal his Son “ in me, that I might preach him among the heathen, “ immediately I conferred not with flesh and blood.” Gal. i. 15.

4. The course of the apostle’s travels after his conversion was this : — He went from Damascus to Jerusalem, and from Jerusalem into Syria and Cilicia. “ At “ Damascus the disciples took him by night, and let him “ down by the wall in a basket ; and when Saul was “ come to Jerusalem, he assayed to join himself to the “ disciples.” (Acts, ix. 25.) Afterwards, “ when the “ brethren knew the conspiracy formed against him at “ Jerusalem, they brought him down to Cæsarea, and “ sent him forth to Tarsus, a city in Cilicia.” (ix. 30.) In the epistle, [i. 18. 21.] St. Paul gives the following brief account of his proceedings within the same period : “ After three years I went up to Jerusalem to see Peter, “ and abode with him fifteen days ; afterwards I came “ into the regions of Syria and Cilicia.” The history had told us that Paul passed from Cæsarea to Tarsus : if he took this journey by land, it would carry him through Syria into Cilicia ; and he would come, after his visit at Jerusalem, “ into the regions of Syria and Cilicia,” in the very order in which he mentions them in the epistle. This supposition of his going from Cæsarea to Tarsus *by land*, clears up also another point. It accounts for what St. Paul says in the same place concerning the churches of Judea [i. 21 . . 24.] : “ Afterwards I came into the “ regions of Syria and Cilicia, and was unknown by face “ unto the churches of Judea, which were in Christ : but “ they had heard only that he which persecuted us in “ times past, now preacheth the faith which once he destroyed ; and they glorified God in me.” Upon which passage I observe, first, that what is here said of the

churches of Judea, is spoken in connection with his journey into the regions of Syria and Cilicia : Secondly, that the passage itself has little significancy, and that the *connection* is inexplicable, unless St. Paul went through Judea * (though probably by a hasty journey) at the time that he came into the regions of Syria and Cilicia. Suppose him to have passed by land from Cæsarea to Tarsus, all this, as hath been observed, would be precisely true.

5. Barnabas was with Paul at Antioch. "Then departed Barnabas to Tarsus, for to seek Saul ; and when he had found him, he brought him unto Antioch. And it came to pass, that a whole year they assembled themselves with the church." Acts, xi. 25, 26. Again, and upon another occasion, "they (Paul and Barnabas) sailed to Antioch ; and there they continued a long time with the disciples." xiv. 26.

Now what says the epistle ? "When Peter was come to Antioch, I withstood him to the face, because he was to be blamed ; and the other Jews dissembled likewise with him ; insomuch that Barnabas also was carried away with their dissimulation." ii. 11. 13.

6. The stated residence of the apostles was at Jerusalem. "At that time there was a great persecution against the church which was at Jerusalem ; and they were all scattered abroad throughout the regions of Judea and Samaria, except the apostles." (Acts, viii. 1.) "They (the Christians at Antioch) determined that Paul and Barnabas should go up to Jerusalem, unto the apostles and elders, about this question." (Acts, xv. 2.) With these accounts agrees the declaration in the epistle : "Neither went I up to Jerusalem to them which were apostles before me : " (i. 17.) for this declaration implies, or rather assumes it to be known, that Jerusalem was the place where the apostles were to be met with.

* Dr. Doddridge thought that the Cæsarea here mentioned was not the celebrated city of that name upon the Mediterranean sea, but Cæsarea Philippi, near the borders of Syria, which lies in a much more direct line from Jerusalem to Tarsus than the other. The objection to this, Dr. Benson remarks, is, that Cæsarea, without any addition, usually denotes Cæsarea Palestinæ.

[For the remark on an apparent oversight of Dr. Paley here, in point of geography, vide the close of this CHAPTER.]

7. There were at Jerusalem two apostles, or at the least two eminent members of the church, of the name of James. This is directly inferred from the Acts of the Apostles, which in the second verse of the twelfth chapter relates the death of James, the brother of John ; and yet in the fifteenth chapter, and in a subsequent part of the history, records a speech delivered by James in the assembly of the apostles and elders. It is also strongly implied by the form of expression used in the epistle : [i. 19.] “ Other apostles saw I none, save James, the “ *Lord’s brother* ;” *i. e.* to distinguish him from James the brother of John.

To us, who have been long conversant in the Christian history, as contained in the Acts of the Apostles, these points are obvious and familiar ; nor do we readily apprehend any greater difficulty in making them appear in a letter purporting to have been written by St. Paul, than there is in introducing them into a modern sermon. But, to judge correctly of the argument before us, we must discharge this knowledge from our thoughts. We must propose to ourselves the situation of an author who sat down to the writing of the epistle without having seen the history ; and then the concurrences we have deduced will be deemed of importance. They will at least be taken for separate confirmations of the several facts ; and not only of these particular facts, but of the general truth of the history.

For what is the rule with respect to corroborative testimony which prevails in courts of justice, and which prevails only because experience has proved that it is an useful guide to truth ? A principal witness in a cause delivers his account : his narrative, in certain parts of it, is confirmed by witnesses who are called afterwards. The credit derived from their testimony belongs not only to the particular circumstances in which the auxiliary witnesses agree with the principal witness, but in some measure to the whole of his evidence ; because it is improbable that accident or fiction should draw a line which touched upon truth in so many points.

In like manner, if two records be produced, manifestly

independent, that is, manifestly written without any participation of intelligence, an agreement between them, even in few and slight circumstances (especially if, from the different nature and design of the writings, few points only of agreement, and those incidental, could be expected to occur) would add a sensible weight to the authority of both, in every part of their contents.

The same rule is applicable to history, with at least as much reason as to any other species of evidence.

No. III.

But although the references to various particulars in the epistle, compared with the direct account of the same particulars in the history, afford a considerable proof of the truth not only of these particulars, but of the narrative which contains them ; yet they do not show, it will be said, that the epistle was written by St. Paul : for admitting (what seems to have been proved) that the writer, whoever he was, had no recourse to the Acts of the Apostles, yet many of the facts referred to, such as St. Paul's miraculous conversion, his change from a virulent persecutor to an indefatigable preacher, his labours amongst the Gentiles, and his zeal for the liberties of the Gentile church, were so notorious, as to occur readily to the mind of any Christian, who should choose to personate his character, and counterfeit his name : it was only to write what everybody knew. Now I think that this supposition—viz. that the epistle was composed upon general information, and the general publicity of the facts alluded to, and that the author did no more than weave into his work what the common fame of the Christian church had reported to his ears—is repelled by the particularity of the recitals and references. This particularity is observable in the following instances ; in perusing which, I desire the reader to reflect, whether they exhibit the language of a man who had nothing but general reputation to proceed upon, or of a man actually speaking of himself and of his own history, and consequently of things con-

cerning which he possessed a clear, intimate, and circumstantial knowledge.

1. The history, in giving an account of St. Paul after his conversion, relates "that, after many days," effecting, by the assistance of the disciples, his escape from Damascus, "he proceeded to Jerusalem." (Acts, ix. 25.) The epistle, speaking of the same period, makes St. Paul say that "he went into Arabia," that he returned again to Damascus, that after three years he went up to Jerusalem. i. 17, 18.

2. The history relates that, when Saul was come from Damascus, "he was with the disciples coming in and "going out." (Acts, ix. 28.) The epistle, describing the same journey, tells us "that he went up to Jerusalem to "see Peter, and abode with him fifteen days." i. 18.

3. The history relates that, when Paul was come to Jerusalem, "Barnabas took him and brought him to the apostles." (Acts, ix. 27.) The epistle, "that he saw "Peter; but other of the apostles saw he none, save "James, the Lord's brother." i. 19.

Now this is as it should be. The historian delivers his account in general terms, as of facts to which he was not present. The person who is the subject of that account, when he comes to speak of these facts himself, particularizes time, names, and circumstances.

4. The like notation of places, persons, and dates, is met with in the account of St. Paul's journey to Jerusalem, given in the second chapter of the epistle. It was fourteen years after his conversion; it was in company with Barnabas and Titus; it was then that he met with James, Cephas, and John; it was then also that it was agreed amongst them, that they should go to the circumcision, and he unto the Gentiles.

5. The dispute with Peter, which occupies the sequel of the second chapter, is marked with the same particularity. It was at Antioch; it was after certain came from James; it was whilst Barnabas was there, who was carried away by their dissimulation. These examples negative the insinuation, that the epistle presents nothing but indefinite allusions to public facts.

No. IV.

Chap. iv. 11—16. “ I am afraid of you, lest I have bestowed upon you labour in vain. Brethren, I beseech you, be as I am, for I am as ye are. Ye have not injured me at all. Ye know how, through infirmity of the flesh, I preached the gospel unto you at the first ; and *my temptation, which was in my flesh*, ye despised not, nor rejected ; but received me as an angel of God, even as Christ Jesus. Where is then the blessedness ye spake of ? for I bear you record, that, if it had been possible, ye would have plucked out your own eyes, and have given them to me. Am I therefore become your enemy, because I tell you the truth ? ”

With this passage compare 2 Cor. xii. 1—9 : “ It is not expedient for me, doubtless, to glory. I will come to visions and revelations of the Lord. I knew a man in Christ above fourteen years ago (whether in the body, I cannot tell ; or whether out of the body, I cannot tell ; God knoweth) ; such an one caught up to the third heaven : and I knew such a man (whether in the body or out of the body, I cannot tell ; God knoweth), how that he was caught up into paradise, and heard unspeakable words, which it is not lawful for a man to utter. Of such an one will I glory, yet of myself I will not glory, but in mine infirmities : for, though I would desire to glory, I shall not be a fool ; for I will say the truth. But now I forbear, lest any man should think of me above that which he seeth me to be, or that he heareth of me. And lest I should be exalted above measure, through the abundance of the revelations, there was given to me *a thorn in the flesh, the messenger of Satan to buffet me*, lest I should be exalted above measure. For this thing I besought the Lord thrice, that it might depart from me. And he said unto me, My grace is sufficient for thee ; for my strength is made perfect in weakness. Most gladly therefore will I rather glory in my infirmities, that the power of Christ may rest upon me.”

There can be no doubt but that “the temptation which “was in the flesh,” mentioned in the Epistle to the Galatians, and “the thorn in the flesh, the messenger of “Satan to buffet him,” mentioned in the Epistle to the Corinthians, were intended to denote the same thing. Either therefore it was, what we pretend it to have been, the same person in both, alluding, as the occasion led him, to some bodily infirmity under which he laboured ; that is, we are reading the real letters of a real apostle ; or, it was that a sophist, who had seen this circumstance in one epistle, contrived, for the sake of correspondency, to bring it into another ; or, lastly, it was a circumstance in St. Paul’s personal condition, supposed to be well known to those into whose hands the epistle was likely to fall ; and, for that reason, introduced into a writing designed to bear his name. I have extracted the quotations at length, in order to enable the reader to judge accurately of the manner in which the mention of this particular comes in, in each ; because that judgment, I think, will acquit the author of the epistle of the charge of having studiously inserted it, either with a view of producing an apparent agreement between them, or for any other purpose whatever.

The context, by which the circumstance before us is introduced, is in the two places totally different, and without any mark of imitation ; yet in both places does the circumstance rise aptly and naturally out of the context, and that context from the train of thought carried on in the epistle.

The Epistle to the Galatians, from the beginning to the end, runs in a strain of angry complaint of their defection from the apostle, and from the principles which he had taught them. It was very natural to contrast, with this conduct, the zeal with which they had once received him ; and it was not less so to mention, as a proof of their former disposition towards him, the indulgence which, whilst he was amongst them, they had shown to his infirmity : “My temptation, which was in my flesh, “ye despised not, nor rejected ; but received me as an “angel of God, even as Christ Jesus. Where is then

“ the blessedness ye spake of,” *i. e.* the benedictions which you bestowed upon me? “ for I bear you record, that if “ it had been possible, ye would have plucked out your “ own eyes, and have given them to me.”

In the two Epistles to the Corinthians, especially in the Second, we have the apostle contending with certain teachers in Corinth, who had formed a party in that church against him. To vindicate his personal authority, as well as the dignity and credit of his ministry amongst them, he takes occasion (but not without apologizing repeatedly for the folly, that is, for the indecorum of pronouncing his own panegyric *) to meet his adversaries in their boastings: [xi. 21 . . 23.] “ Whereinsoever any is “ bold (I speak foolishly), I am bold also. Are they Hebrews? so am I. Are they Israelites? so am I. Are they the seed of Abraham? so am I. Are they the ministers of Christ? (I speak as a fool) I am more; “ in labours more abundant, in stripes above measure, in “ prisons more frequent, in deaths oft.” Being thus led to the subject, he goes on, as was natural, to recount his trials and dangers, his incessant cares and labours in the Christian mission. From the proofs which he had given of his zeal and activity in the service of Christ, he passes (and that with the same view of establishing his claim to be considered as [xi. 5.] “ not a whit behind the very “ chiefest of the apostles”) to the visions and revelations which from time to time had been vouchsafed to him. And then, by a close and easy connection, comes in the mention of his infirmity: “ Lest I should be exalted,” says he, “ above measure, through the abundance of the “ revelations, there was given to me a thorn in the flesh, “ the messenger of Satan to buffet me.”

Thus then, in both epistles, the notice of his infirmity is suited to the place in which it is found. In the Epistle to the Corinthians, the train of thought draws up to the

* “ Would to God ye could bear with me a little in my folly, “ and indeed bear with me.” xi. 1.

“ That which I speak, I speak it not after the Lord, but as it “ were foolishly, in this confidence of boasting.” xi. 17.

“ I am become a fool in glorying; ye have compelled me.” xii. 11.

circumstance by a regular approximation. In this epistle, it is suggested by the subject and occasion of the epistle itself. Which observation we offer as an argument to prove that it is not, in either epistle, a circumstance industriously brought forward for the sake of procuring credit to an imposture.

A reader will be taught to perceive the force of this argument, who shall attempt to introduce a *given* circumstance into the body of a writing. To do this without abruptness, or without betraying marks of design in the transition, requires, he will find, more art than he expected to be necessary, certainly more than any one can believe to have been exercised in the composition of these epistles.

No. V.

Chap. iv. 29. "But as then he that was born after the flesh persecuted him that was born after the Spirit, even so is it now."

v. 11. "And I, brethren, if I yet preach circumcision, why do I yet suffer persecution? Then is the offence of the cross ceased."

vi. 17. "From henceforth, let no man trouble me, for I bear in my body the marks of the Lord Jesus."

From these several texts, it is apparent that the persecutions which our apostle had undergone, were from the hands or by the instigation of the Jews; that it was not for preaching Christianity in opposition to heathenism, but it was for preaching it as distinct from Judaism, that he had brought upon himself the sufferings which had attended his ministry. And this representation perfectly coincides with that which results from the detail of St. Paul's history, as delivered in the Acts. At Antioch in Pisidia, the "word of the Lord was published throughout all the region; but the *Jews stirred up* the devout and honourable women and the chief men of the city, and raised persecution against Paul and Barnabas, and expelled them out of their coasts." (Acts, xiii. 50.) Not long

after, at Iconium, “ a great multitude of the Jews, and
 “ also of the Greeks, believed ; but the *unbelieving Jews*
 “ stirred up the Gentiles, and made their minds evil
 “ affected against the brethren.” (xiv. 1, 2.) “ At Lystra
 “ there came certain *Jews* from Antioch and Iconium,
 “ who persuaded the people ; and having stoned Paul,
 “ drew him out of the city, supposing he had been dead.”
 (xiv. 19.) The same enmity, and from the same quarter,
 our apostle experienced in Greece : “ At Thessalonica,
 “ some of them (the *Jews*) believed, and consorted with
 “ Paul and Silas ; and of the devout Greeks a great mul-
 “ titude, and of the chief women not a few : but *the Jews*
 “ *which believed not*, moved with envy, took unto them
 “ certain lewd fellows of the baser sort, and gathered a
 “ company, and set all the city on an uproar, and assaulted
 “ the house of Jason, and sought to bring them out to
 “ the people.” (Acts, xvii. 4, 5.) Their persecutors
 follow them to Beræa : “ When the *Jews* of Thessalonica
 “ had knowledge that the word of God was preached of
 “ Paul at Beræa, they came thither also, and stirred
 “ up the people.” (xvii. 13.) And lastly, at Corinth,
 when Gallio was deputy of Achaia, [xviii. 12.] “ *the*
 “ *Jews* made insurrection with one accord against Paul,
 “ and brought him to the judgment-seat.” I think it
 does not appear that our apostle was ever set upon by
 the Gentiles, unless they were first stirred up by the Jews,
 except in two instances ; in both which the persons who
 began the assault were immediately interested in his ex-
 pulsion from the place. Once this happened at Philippi,
 after the cure of the Pythoness : “ When her masters
 “ saw the hope of their gains was gone, they caught Paul
 “ and Silas, and drew them into the market-place unto
 “ the rulers.” (xvi. 19.) And a second time at Ephesus,
 at the instance of “ Demetrius, a silversmith, which made
 “ silver shrines for Diana,” who “ called together the work-
 “ men of like occupation, and said, Sirs, ye know that by
 “ this craft we have our wealth ; moreover, ye see and hear
 “ that not alone at Ephesus, but almost throughout all
 “ Asia, this Paul hath persuaded and turned away much
 “ people, saying that they be no gods which are made

“ with hands ; so that not only this our craft is in danger
“ to be set at nought, but also that the temple of the great
“ goddess Diana should be despised, and her magnificence
“ should be destroyed, whom all Asia and the world wor-
“ shippeth.” [A. xix. 24 . . 27.]

No. VI.

I observe an agreement in a somewhat peculiar rule of Christian conduct, as laid down in this epistle, and as exemplified in the Second Epistle to the Corinthians. It is not the repetition of the same general precept, which would have been a coincidence of little value ; but it is the general precept in one place, and the application of that precept to an actual occurrence in the other. In the sixth chapter and the first verse of this epistle, our apostle gives the following direction : “ Brethren, if a man be
“ overtaken in a fault, ye which are spiritual, restore
“ such a one in the spirit of meekness.” In 2 Cor. ii. 6—8, he writes thus : “ Sufficient to such a man” (the incestuous person mentioned in the First Epistle) “ is this
“ punishment, which was inflicted of many ; so that, con-
“ trariwise, ye ought rather to forgive him and comfort
“ him, lest perhaps such a one should be swallowed up
“ with over-much sorrow : wherefore I beseech you that
“ ye would confirm your love towards him.” I have little doubt but that it was the same mind which dictated these two passages.

No. VII.

Our epistle goes farther than any of St. Paul’s epistles ; for it avows in direct terms the supersession of the Jewish law, as an instrument of salvation, even to the Jews themselves. Not only were the Gentiles exempt from its authority, but even the Jews were no longer either to place any dependency upon it, or consider themselves as subject to it on a religious account. “ Before faith came, we were

“ kept under the law, shut up unto the faith which should afterwards be revealed ; wherefore the law was our schoolmaster to bring us unto Christ, that we might be justified by faith ; but, after that faith is come, *we are no longer under a schoolmaster.*” (iii. 23—25.)

This was undoubtedly spoken of Jews and to Jews. In like manner, iv. 1—5 : “ Now I say that the heir, as long as he is a child, differeth nothing from a servant, though he be lord of all ; but is under tutors and governors until the time appointed of the father : even so we, when we were children, were in bondage under the elements of the world ; but when the fulness of the time was come, God sent forth his Son, made of a woman, made under the law, to *redeem them that were under the law*, that we might receive the adoption of sons.” These passages are nothing short of a declaration, that the obligation of the Jewish law, considered as a religious dispensation, the effects of which were to take place in another life, had ceased, with respect even to the Jews themselves. What then should be the conduct of a Jew (for such St. Paul was) who preached this doctrine ? To be consistent with himself, either he would no longer comply, in his own person, with the directions of the law ; or, if he did comply, it would be for some other reason than any confidence which he placed in its efficacy, as a religious institution. Now so it happens, that whenever St. Paul’s compliance with the Jewish law is mentioned in the history, it is mentioned in connection with circumstances which point out the motive from which it proceeded ; and this motive appears to have been always exoteric, namely, a love of order and tranquillity, or an unwillingness to give unnecessary offence. Thus, Acts, xvi. 3 : “ Him (Timothy) would Paul have to go forth with him, and took and circumcised him, *because of the Jews which were in those quarters.*” Again (Acts, xxi. 26.), when Paul consented to exhibit an example of public compliance with a Jewish rite, by purifying himself in the temple, it is plainly intimated that he did this to satisfy “ many thousands of Jews who believed, and who were all zealous of the law.” So far the instances re-

lated in one book, correspond with the doctrine delivered in another.

No. VIII.

Chap. i. 18. "Then, after three years, I went up to Jerusalem to see Peter, and abode with him fifteen days."

The shortness of St. Paul's stay at Jerusalem, is what I desire the reader to remark. The direct account of the same journey in the Acts, ix. 28, determines nothing concerning the time of his continuance there: "And he was with them (the apostles) coming in and going out at Jerusalem; and he spake boldly in the name of the Lord Jesus, and disputed against the Grecians; but they went about to slay him: which when the brethren knew, they brought him down to Cæsarea." Or rather this account, taken by itself, would lead a reader to suppose that St. Paul's abode at Jerusalem had been longer than fifteen days. But turn to the twenty-second chapter [vv. 17, 18.] of the Acts, and you will find a reference to this visit to Jerusalem, which plainly indicates that Paul's continuance in that city had been of short duration: "And it came to pass, that, when I was come again to Jerusalem, even while I prayed in the temple, I was in a trance, and saw him saying unto me, Make haste, and get thee quickly out of Jerusalem, for they will not receive thy testimony concerning me." Here we have the general terms of one text so explained by a distant text in the same book, as to bring an indeterminate expression into close conformity with a specification delivered in another book: a species of consistency not, I think, usually found in fabulous relations.

No. IX.

Chap. vi. 11. "Ye see how large a letter I have written unto you with mine own hand."

These words imply that he did not always write with his own hand ; which is consonant to what we find intimated in some other of the epistles. The epistle to the Romans was written by Tertius : “ I Tertius, who wrote “ this epistle, salute you in the Lord ;” (xvi. 22.) The First Epistle to the Corinthians, the Epistle to the Colossians, and the Second to the Thessalonians, have all, near the conclusion, this clause : “ The salutation of me, Paul, “ with mine own hand ;” which must be understood, and is universally understood to import, that the rest of the epistle was written by another hand. I do not think it improbable that an impostor, who had remarked this subscription in some other epistle, should invent the same in a forgery ; but that is not done here. The author of this epistle does not imitate the manner of giving St. Paul’s signature ; he only bids the Galatians observe how large a letter he had written to them with his own hand. He does not say this was different from his ordinary usage ; that is left to implication. Now to suppose that this was an artifice to procure credit to an imposture, is to suppose that the author of the forgery, because he knew that others of St. Paul’s were *not* written by himself, therefore made the apostle say that this was : which seems an odd turn to give to the circumstance, and to be given for a purpose, which would more naturally and more directly have been answered by subjoining the salutation or signature in the form in which it is found in other epistles.*

* The words *πηλίκαις γράμμασιν* may probably be meant to describe the character in which he wrote, and not the length of the letter. But this will not alter the truth of our observation. I think, however, that as St. Paul, by the mention of his own hand, designed to express to the Galatians the great concern which he felt for them, the words, whatever they signify, belong to the whole of the epistle ; and not, as Grotius, after St. Jerom, interprets it, to the few verses which follow.

No. X.

An exact conformity appears in the manner in which a certain apostle or eminent Christian, whose name was James, is spoken of in the epistle and in the history. Both writings refer to a situation of his at Jerusalem, somewhat different from that of the other apostles ; a kind of eminence or presidency in the church there, or at least a more fixed and stationary residence. ii. 12 : " When Peter was at Antioch, before that certain came from James, he did eat with the Gentiles." This text plainly attributes a kind of pre-eminency to James ; and, as we hear of him twice in the same epistle dwelling at Jerusalem, i. 19, and ii. 9, we must apply it to the situation which he held in that church. In the Acts of the Apostles divers intimations occur, conveying the same idea of James's situation. When Peter was miraculously delivered from prison, and had surprised his friends by his appearance among them, after declaring unto them how the Lord had brought him out of prison, " Go shew," says he, " these things unto James, and to the brethren." (Acts, xii. 17.) Here James is manifestly spoken of in terms of distinction. He appears again with like distinction in the twenty-first chapter and the seventeenth and eighteenth verses : " And when we" (Paul and his company) " were come to Jerusalem ; the day following, Paul went in with us unto James, and all the elders were present." In the debate which took place upon the business of the Gentile converts, in the council at Jerusalem, this same person seems to have taken the lead. It was he who closed the debate, and proposed the resolution in which the council ultimately concurred : " Wherefore my sentence is, that we trouble not them which from among the Gentiles are turned to God." [A. xv. 19.]

Upon the whole, that there exists a conformity in the expressions used concerning *James*, throughout the history, and in the epistle, is unquestionable. But, admitting this conformity, and admitting also the undesignedness of it, what does it prove ? It proves that the circumstance

itself is founded in truth ; that is, that James was a real person, who held a situation of eminence in a real society of Christians at Jerusalem. It confirms also those parts of the narrative which are connected with this circumstance. Suppose, for instance, the truth of the account of Peter's escape from prison was to be tried upon the testimony of a witness who, amongst other things, made Peter, after his deliverance, say, "Go shew these things to James, and to the brethren ;" would it not be material, in such a trial, to make out by other independent proofs, or by a comparison of proofs drawn from independent sources, that there was actually at that time, living at Jerusalem, such a person as James ; that this person held such a situation in the society amongst whom these things were transacted, as to render the words which Peter is said to have used concerning him, proper and natural for him to have used ? If this would be pertinent in the discussion of oral testimony, it is still more so in appreciating the credit of remote history.

[No. xi.]

It must not be dissembled that the comparison of our epistle with the history presents some difficulties, or, to say the least, some questions, of considerable magnitude.

(i.) It may be doubted, in the first place, to what journey the words which open the second chapter of the epistle, "Then, fourteen years afterwards, I went unto Jerusalem," relate. That which [apparently] best corresponds with the date, and that to which most interpreters apply the passage, is the journey of Paul and Barnabas to Jerusalem, when they went thither from Antioch, upon the business of the Gentile converts ; and which journey produced the famous council and decree recorded in the fifteenth chapter of Acts. To me this opinion appears to be encumbered with strong objections. In the epistle, Paul tells us that "he went up by revelation ;" (ii. 2.) In the Acts, we read that he was sent by the church of Antioch : "After no small dissension

“and disputation, they determined that Paul and Barnabas, and certain other of them, should go up to the apostles and elders about this question.” (Acts, xv. 2.) This is not very reconcilable.—In the epistle, St. Paul writes that, when he came to Jerusalem, “he communicated that Gospel which he preached among the Gentiles, but privately to them which were of reputation.” (ii. 2.) If by “that Gospel” he meant the immunity of the Gentile Christians from the Jewish law (and I know not what else it can mean), it is not easy to conceive how he should communicate that privately, which was the subject of his public message.

(ii.) But a yet greater difficulty remains, viz. that in the account which the epistle gives of what passed upon this visit at Jerusalem, no notice is taken of the deliberation and decree which are recorded in the Acts, and which, according to that history, formed the business for the sake of which the journey was undertaken. The mention of the council and of its determination, whilst the apostle was relating his proceedings at Jerusalem, could hardly have been avoided, if in truth the narrative belong to the same journey. To me it appears more probable that Paul and Barnabas had taken some journey to Jerusalem, the mention of which is omitted in the Acts. Prior to the apostolic decree, we read that “Paul and Barnabas abode at Antioch a long time with the disciples.” (Acts, xiv. 28.) Is it unlikely that, during this long abode, they might go up to Jerusalem and return to Antioch? Or would the omission of such a journey be unsuitable to the general brevity with which these memoirs are written, especially of those parts of St. Paul’s history which took place before the historian joined his society? *

But, again, the first account we find in the Acts of the Apostles of St. Paul’s visiting Galatia, is in the sixteenth chapter, and the sixth verse: “Now when they had gone through Phrygia and the region of Galatia, they

* [For a regular examination of the point here started, and for its determination in the affirmative, see Appendix on the close of Acts xiv. The question turns on the absolute discrepancy between the two narratives in Acts xv., and in Gal. ii. 1...10.]

“assayed to go into Bithynia.” The progress here recorded was subsequent to the apostolic decree; therefore that decree must have been extant when our epistle was written. Now, as the professed design of the epistle was to establish the exemption of the Gentile converts from the law of Moses, and as the decree pronounced and confirmed that exemption, it may seem extraordinary that no notice whatever is taken of that determination, nor any appeal made to its authority.

Much, however, of the weight of this objection, which applies also to some other of St. Paul’s epistles, is removed by the following reflections.

1. It was not St. Paul’s manner, nor agreeable to it, to resort or defer much to the authority of the other apostles, especially whilst he was insisting, as he does strenuously throughout this epistle insist, upon his own original inspiration. He who could speak of the very chiefest of the apostles in such terms [ii. 6.] as the following — “of those who seemed to be somewhat, “whatsoever they were, it maketh no matter to me: God “accepteth no man’s person: for they who seemed to be “somewhat in conference added nothing to me” — he, I say, was not likely to support himself by their decision.

2. The epistle argues the point upon principle; and it is not perhaps more to be wondered at, that in such an argument St. Paul should not cite the apostolic decree, than it would be that, in a discourse designed to prove the moral and religious duty of observing the sabbath, the writer should not quote the thirteenth canon.

3. The decree did not go the length of the position maintained in the epistle; the decree only declares that the apostles and elders at Jerusalem did not impose the observance of the Mosaic law upon the Gentile converts, as a condition of their being admitted into the Christian church. Our epistle argues that the Mosaic institution itself was at an end, as to all effects upon a future state, even with respect to the Jews themselves.

4. They whose error St. Paul combatted, were not persons who submitted to the Jewish law, because it was imposed by the authority, or because it was made part of

the law, of the Christian church ; but they were persons who, having already become Christians, afterwards voluntarily took upon themselves the observance of the Mosaic code, under a notion of attaining thereby to a greater perfection. This, I think, is precisely the opinion which St. Paul opposes in this epistle. Many of his expressions apply exactly to it : " Are ye so foolish ? having begun " in the Spirit, are ye now made perfect by the flesh ?" (iii. 3.) " Tell me, ye that desire to be under the law, " do ye not hear the law ?" (iv. 21.) " How turn ye " again to the weak and beggarly elements, whereunto " ye desire again to be in bondage ?" (iv. 9.) It cannot be thought extraordinary that St. Paul should resist this opinion with earnestness ; for it both changed the character of the Christian dispensation, and derogated expressly from the completeness of that redemption which Jesus Christ had wrought for them that believed in him. But it was to no purpose to allege to such persons the decision at Jerusalem, for that only showed that they were not bound to these observances by any law of the Christian church : they did not pretend to be so bound. Nevertheless they imagined that there was an efficacy in these observances, a merit, a recommendation to favour, and a ground of acceptance with God, for those who complied with them. This was a situation of thought to which the tenor of the decree did not apply. Accordingly, St. Paul's address to the Galatians, which is throughout adapted to this situation, runs in a strain widely different from the language of the decree : " Christ is become of " no effect unto you, whosoever of you are justified by the " law ;" (v. 4.) *i. e.* whosoever places his dependence upon any merit he may apprehend there to be in legal observances. The decree had said nothing like this ; therefore it would have been useless to have produced the decree in an argument of which this was the burthen. In like manner as, in contending with an anchorite, who should insist upon the superior holiness of a recluse, ascetic life, and the value of such mortifications in the sight of God, it would be to no purpose to prove that the laws of the church did not require these vows, or even to

prove that the laws of the church expressly left every Christian to his liberty. This would avail little towards abating his estimation of their merit, or towards settling the point in controversy.*

* Mr. Locke's solution of this difficulty is by no means satisfactory. "St. Paul," he says, "did not remind the Galatians of the apostolic decree, because they already had it." In the first place, it does not appear with certainty that they had it; in the second place, if they had it, this was rather a reason, than otherwise, for referring them to it. The passage in the Acts, from which Mr. Locke concludes that the Galatic churches were in possession of the decree, is the fourth verse of the sixteenth chapter: "And as they" (Paul and Timothy) "went through the cities, they delivered them the decrees for to keep, that were ordained of the apostles and elders which were at Jerusalem." In my opinion, this delivery of the decree was confined to the churches to which St. Paul came; in pursuance of the plan upon which he set out, of "visiting the brethren in every city where he had preached the word of the Lord;" the history of which progress, and of all that pertained to it, is closed in the fifth verse, when the history informs us that "so were the churches established in the faith, and increased in number daily." Then the history proceeds upon a new section of the narrative, by telling us that "when they had gone throughout Phrygia and the region of Galatia, they assayed to go into Bithynia." The decree itself is directed "to the brethren which are of the Gentiles in Antioch, Syria, and Cilicia;" that is, to churches already founded, and in which this question had been stirred. And I think the observation of the noble author [Lord Barrington] of the *Miscellanea Sacra* is not only ingenious, but highly probable, viz. that there is, in this place, a dislocation of the text, and that the fourth and fifth verses of the sixteenth chapter ought to follow the last verse of the fifteenth, so as to make the entire passage run thus: "And they went through Syria and Cilicia" (to the Christians of which countries the decree was addressed), "confirming the churches; and as they went through the cities, they delivered them the decrees for to keep, that were ordained of the apostles and elders which were at Jerusalem; and so were the churches established in the faith, and increased in number daily." And then the sixteenth chapter takes up a new and unbroken paragraph: "Then came he to Derbe and Lystra," &c. When St. Paul came, as he did into Galatia, to preach the gospel, for the first time, in a new place, it is not probable that he would make mention of the decree, or rather letter, of the church of Jerusalem, which pre-supposed Christianity to be known, and which related to certain doubts that had arisen in some established Christian communities.

The second reason which Mr. Locke assigns for the omission of the decree, viz. "that St. Paul's sole object in the epistle, was to

(iii.) Another difficulty arises from the account of Peter's conduct towards the Gentile converts at Antioch, as given in the epistle, in the latter part of the second chapter ; which conduct, it is said, is consistent neither with the revelation communicated to him, upon the conversion of Cornelius, nor with the part he took in the debate at Jerusalem. But, in order to understand either the difficulty or the solution, it will be necessary to state and explain the passage itself. [ii. 11..14.] "When Peter was come to Antioch, I withstood him to the face, because he was to be blamed ; for, before that certain came from James, he did eat with the Gentiles ; but when they were come, he withdrew and separated himself, fearing them which were of the circumcision ; and the other Jews dissembled likewise with him, insomuch that Barnabas also was carried away with their dissimulation : but when I saw that they walked not uprightly, according to the truth of the Gospel, I said unto Peter, before them all, If thou, being a Jew, livest after the manner of Gentiles, and not as do the Jews, why compellest thou the Gentiles to live as do the Jews ?" Now the question that produced the dispute to which these words relate, was not whether the Gentiles were capable of being admitted into the Christian covenant ; that had been fully settled : nor was it whether it should be accounted essential to the profession of Christianity that they should conform themselves to the law of Moses ; that was the question at Jerusalem : but it was, whether, upon the Gentiles becoming Christians, the Jews might thenceforth eat and drink with them, as with their own brethren. Upon this point St. Peter betrayed some inconstancy ; and so he might, agreeably enough to his

"acquit himself of the imputation that had been charged upon him "of actually preaching circumcision," does not appear to me to be strictly true. It was not the sole object. The epistle is written in general opposition to the Judaizing inclinations which he found to prevail amongst his converts. The avowal of his own doctrine, and of his steadfast adherence to that doctrine, formed a necessary part of the design of his letter, but was not the whole of it.

history. He might consider the vision at Joppa as a direction for the occasion, rather than as universally abolishing the distinction between Jew and Gentile ; I do not mean with respect to final acceptance with God, but as to the manner of their living together in society : at least he might not have comprehended this point with such clearness and certainty, as to stand out upon it against the fear of bringing upon himself the censure and complaint of his brethren in the church of Jerusalem, who still adhered to their ancient prejudices. But Peter, it is said, compelled the Gentiles Ἰουδαῖσιν — “ why “ compellest thou the Gentiles to live as do the Jews ? ” How did he do that ? The only way in which Peter appears to have compelled the Gentiles to comply with the Jewish institution, was by withdrawing himself from their society. By which he may be understood to have made this declaration : “ We do not deny your right to “ be considered as Christians ; we do not deny your title “ in the promises of the Gospel, even without compliance “ with our law ; but if you would have us Jews live with “ you, as we do with one another, that is, if you would “ in all respects be treated by us as Jews, you must live “ as such yourselves.” This, I think, was the compulsion which St. Peter’s conduct imposed upon the Gentiles, and for which St. Paul reproved him.

As to the part which the historian ascribes to St. Peter, in the debate at Jerusalem, beside that it was a different question which was there agitated from that which produced the dispute at Antioch, there is nothing to hinder us from supposing that the dispute at Antioch was prior to the consultation at Jerusalem ; or that Peter, in consequence of this rebuke, might have afterwards maintained firmer sentiments.

[*Note on p. 86.* — With some reluctance I stop here to remark what appears a singular oversight as to the geography of Palestine. When St. Paul arrived in Cæsarea, he had actually gone (A. xii. 19. xxi. 8. 10.) through Judea in his way ; and even if the same regard to his personal safety which carried him to Cæsarea had allowed the continuance of his journey by land, it was through part of Samaria and through Phœnice (A. xv. 2, 3.) he must have travelled, before he could pass through Syria ; so that his going

onward from Cæsarea *by land* could, bear no relation whatever to his being either known or *unknown by face to the churches in Judea*.

It is true, also, that if St. Paul had proceeded by land from Cæsarea onward, he would have gone through the regions of Syria and Cilicia, in the very order which the epistle exhibits; whereas, if he went by sea to Tarsus in the first instance, he would of course visit Cilicia before he visited Syria. But merely from the different order in which St. Paul, long afterwards, writing to the Galatians, names those two regions, it would be quite idle to draw any conclusion as to the fact itself. On some occasions, to be sure, where the context demands it, the order of travel, as "Macedonia and Achaia," (A. xix. 21.) must regulate the order of mention also. Otherwise, as in the case before us, where no such necessity directed, and under a tacit reference, perhaps, to Antioch or Jerusalem as the central point, it would be more natural for St. Paul to place Syria and Cilicia in that very succession than in the contrary.]

CHAP. VI.

THE EPISTLE TO THE EPHESIANS.

No. I.

THIS epistle, and the Epistle to the Colossians, appear to have been transmitted to their respective churches by the same messenger: "But that ye also may know my affairs, and how I do, Tychicus, a beloved brother and faithful minister in the Lord, shall make known to you all things; whom I have sent unto you for the same purpose, that ye might know our affairs, and that he might comfort your hearts." (Eph. vi. 21, 22.) This text, if it do not expressly declare, clearly, I think, intimates, that the letter was sent by Tychicus. The words made use of in the Epistle to the Colossians are very similar to these, and afford the same implication that Tychicus, in conjunction with Onesimus, was the bearer of the letter to that church: "All my state shall Tychicus declare unto you, who is a beloved brother, and a

“ faithful minister and fellow servant in the Lord; whom
 “ I have sent unto you for the same purpose, that he
 “ might know your estate, and comfort your hearts; with
 “ Onesimus, a faithful and beloved brother, who is one
 “ of you : they shall make known unto you all things
 “ which are done here.” (Colos. iv. 7—9.) Both epistles
 represent the writer as under imprisonment for the
 gospel ; and both treat of the same general subject. The
 Epistle therefore to the Ephesians, and the Epistle to the
 Colossians, import to be two letters written by the same
 person, at, or nearly at, the same time, and upon the
 same subject, and to have been sent by the same mes-
 senger. Now, every thing in the sentiments, order, and
 diction of the two writings corresponds with what might
 be expected from this circumstance of identity or cognation
 in their original. The leading doctrine of both
 epistles is the union of Jews and Gentiles under the
 Christian dispensation ; and that doctrine in both is esta-
 blished by the same arguments, or, more properly speak-
 ing, illustrated by the same similitudes* : “ one head,”
 “ one body,” “ one new man,” “ one temple,” are in both
 epistles the figures, under which the society of believers
 in Christ, and their common relation to him as such, is
 represented.† The ancient, and, as had been thought,
 the indelible distinction between Jew and Gentile, in both

* St. Paul, I am apt to believe, has been sometimes accused
 of inconclusive reasoning, by our mistaking that for reasoning
 which was only intended for illustration. He is not to be read as
 a man, whose own persuasion of the truth of what he taught,
 always or solely depended upon the views under which he repre-
 sents it in his writings. Taking for granted the certainty of his
 doctrine, as resting upon the revelation that had been imparted to
 him, he exhibits it frequently to the conception of his readers
 under images and allegories, in which if an analogy may be per-
 ceived, or even sometimes a poetic resemblance be found, it is all
 perhaps that is required.

† Compare	{ Ephes. i. 22. iv. 15. ii. 15.	with	{ Colos. i. 18. ii. 19. iii. 10, 11.
Also	{ Ephes. ii. 14, 15. ii. 16. ii. 20.	with	{ Colos. ii. 14. i. 18—21. ii. 7.

epistles, is declared to be "now abolished by his cross." [Eph. ii. 15, 16.] Beside this consent in the general tenor of the two epistles, and in the run also and warmth of thought with which they are composed, we may naturally expect, in letters produced under the circumstances, in which these appear to have been written, a closer resemblance of style and diction, than between other letters of the same person, but of distant dates, or between letters adapted to different occasions. In particular we may look for many of the same expressions, and sometimes for whole sentences being alike; since such expressions and sentences would be repeated in the second letter (whichever that was) as yet fresh in the author's mind from the writing of the first. This repetition occurs in the following examples*:

Ephes. i. 7. "In whom we have redemption through his blood, the forgiveness of sins." †

Colos. i. 14. "In whom we have redemption through his blood, the forgiveness of sins." †

Beside the sameness of the words, it is farther remarkable that the sentence is, in both places, preceded by the same introductory idea. In the Epistle to the Ephesians it is the "*beloved*" (ἡγαπημένῳ); in that to the Colossians it is "*his dear Son*" (υιοῦ τῆς ἀγάπης αὐτοῦ), "in whom we have redemption." The sentence appears to have been suggested to the mind of the writer by the idea which had accompanied it before.

Ephes. i. 10. "All things, both which are in heaven and which are on earth, even in him." §

Colos. i. 20. "All things by him, whether they be things in earth, or things in heaven." ||

* When *verbal* comparisons are relied upon, it becomes necessary to state the original; but that the English reader may be interrupted as little as may be, I shall in general do this in the note.

† Ephes. i. 7. Ἐν ᾧ ἔχομεν τὴν ἀπολύτρωσιν διὰ τοῦ αἵματος αὐτοῦ, τὴν ἄρεσιν τῶν παραπτωμάτων.

‡ Colos. i. 14. Ἐν ᾧ ἔχομεν τὴν ἀπολύτρωσιν διὰ τοῦ αἵματος αὐτοῦ, τὴν ἄρεσιν τῶν ἁμαρτιῶν. — However, it must be observed, that in this latter text many copies have not διὰ τοῦ αἵματος αὐτοῦ.

§ Ephes. i. 10. Τὰ τε ἐν τοῖς οὐρανοῖς καὶ ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς, ἐν αὐτῷ.

|| Colos. i. 20. Δι' αὐτοῦ εἴτε τὰ ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς εἴτε τὰ ἐν τοῖς οὐρανοῖς.

This quotation is the more observable, because the connecting of things in earth with things in heaven is a very singular sentiment, and found no where else but in these two epistles. The words also are introduced and followed by a train of thought nearly alike. They are introduced by describing the union, which Christ had effected, and they are followed by telling the Gentile churches that they were incorporated into it.

Ephes. iii. 2. "The dispensation of the grace of God, which is given me to you ward."*

Colos. i. 25. "The dispensation of God, which is given to me for you."†

Of these sentences it may likewise be observed, that the accompanying ideas are similar. In both places they are immediately preceded by the mention of his present sufferings; in both places they are immediately followed by the mention of the mystery which was the great subject of his preaching.

Ephes. v. 19. "In psalms and hymns and spiritual songs, singing and making melody in your heart to the Lord.‡

Colos. iii. 16. "In psalms and hymns and spiritual songs, singing with grace in your hearts to the Lord."§

Ephes. vi. 22. "Whom I have sent unto you for the same purpose, that ye might know our affairs, and that he might comfort your hearts."||

"Colos. iv. 8. "Whom I have sent unto you for the same purpose, that he might know your estate, and comfort your hearts."¶

In these examples, we do not perceive a cento of phrases gathered from one composition, and strung together in

* Ephes. iii. 2. Τὴν οἰκονομίαν τῆς χάριτος τοῦ Θεοῦ τῆς δοθείσης μοι εἰς ὑμᾶς.

† Colos. i. 25. Τὴν οἰκονομίαν τοῦ Θεοῦ τὴν δοθεῖσάν μοι εἰς ὑμᾶς.

‡ Ephes. v. 19. Ψαλμοῖς καὶ ὕμνοις καὶ ᾠδαῖς πνευματικαῖς, ᾄδοντες καὶ ψάλλοντες ᾠτῇ καρδίας ὑμῶν τῇ Κυρίῳ.

§ Colos. iii. 16. Ψαλμοῖς καὶ ὕμνοις καὶ ᾠδαῖς πνευματικαῖς, ἐν χάριτι ᾄδοντες ἐν τῇ καρδίᾳ ὑμῶν τῇ Κυρίῳ.

|| Ephes. vi. 22. Ὃν ἐπέμψα πρὸς ὑμᾶς εἰς αὐτὸ τοῦτο, ἵνα γνῶτε τὰ περὶ ἡμῶν, καὶ παρακαλέσῃ τὰς καρδίας ὑμῶν.

¶ Colos. iv. 8. Ὃν ἐπέμψα πρὸς ὑμᾶς εἰς αὐτὸ τοῦτο, ἵνα γνῶ τὰ περὶ ὑμῶν, καὶ παρακαλέσῃ τὰς καρδίας ὑμῶν.

the other ; but the occasional occurrence of the same expression to a mind a second time revolving the same ideas.

2. Whoever writes two letters, or two discourses, nearly upon the same subject, and at no great distance of time, but without any express recollection of what he had written before, will find himself repeating some sentences, in the very order of the words in which he had already used them ; but he will more frequently find himself employing some principal terms, with the order inadvertently changed, or with the order disturbed by the intermixture of other words and phrases expressive of ideas rising up at the time ; or, in many instances, repeating not single words, nor yet whole sentences, but parts and fragments of sentences. Of all these varieties the examination of our two epistles will furnish plain examples : and I should rely upon this class of instances more than upon the last ; because, although an impostor might transcribe into a forgery entire sentences and phrases, yet the dislocation of words, the partial recollection of phrases and sentences, the intermixture of new terms and new ideas with terms and ideas before used, which will appear in the examples that follow, and which are the natural properties of writings produced under the circumstances in which these epistles are represented to have been composed — would not, I think, have occurred to the invention of a forger ; nor, if they had occurred, would they have been so easily executed. This studied variation was a refinement in forgery which I believe did not exist ; or, if we can suppose it to have been practised in the instances adduced below, why, it may be asked, was not the same art exercised upon those which we have collected in the preceding class ?

Ephes. i. 19 ; ii. 5. “ Towards us who believe, according to the working of his mighty power which he wrought in Christ, when he raised him from the dead (and set him at his own right hand, in the heavenly places, far above all principality, and power, and might, and dominion, and every name that is named, not only in this world but also in that which is to come, and

“hath put all things under his feet ; and gave him to be
 “the head over all things to the church, which is his
 “body, the fulness of him that filleth all in all) ; and you
 “hath he quickened, who were dead in trespasses and
 “sins — (wherein in time past ye walked according to the
 “course of this world, according to the prince of the
 “power of the air, the spirit that now worketh in the
 “children of disobedience ; among whom also we all had
 “our conversation, in times past, in the lusts of our flesh,
 “fulfilling the desires of the flesh and of the mind, and
 “were by nature the children of wrath, even as others :
 “but God, who is rich in mercy, for his great love where-
 “with he loved us), — even when we were dead in sins,
 “hath quickened us together with Christ.”*

Colos. ii. 12, 13. “Through the faith of the ope-
 “ration of God, who hath raised him from the dead ; and
 “you being dead in your sins and the uncircumcision of
 “your flesh, hath he quickened together with him.”†

Out of the long quotation from the Ephesians, take away the parentheses, and you have left a sentence almost in terms the same as the short quotation from the Colossians. The resemblance is more visible in the original than in our translation ; for what is rendered in one place the “working,” and in another the “operation,” is the same Greek term *ἐνέργεια* ; in one place it is, *τοὺς πιστεύοντας κατὰ τὴν ἐνέργειαν* ; in the other, *διὰ τῆς πίστεως τῆς ἐνεργείας*. Here, therefore, we have the same sentiment, and nearly in the same words ; but, in the Ephesians, twice broken or interrupted by incidental thoughts, which St. Paul, as his manner was, enlarges upon by the way ‡, and then returns to the thread of his discourse. It is interrupted the first time by a view which breaks in upon his

* Ephes. i. 19, 20 ; ii. 1. 5. *Τοὺς πιστεύοντας κατὰ τὴν ἐνέργειαν τοῦ κράτους τῆς ἰσχύος αὐτοῦ, ἣν ἐνήργησεν ἐν τῷ Χριστῷ, ἐγείρας αὐτὸν ἐκ νεκρῶν καὶ ἐκάθισεν ἐν δεξιᾷ αὐτοῦ ἐν τοῖς ἐπουρανίοις—καὶ ὑμᾶς ὄντας νεκροὺς τοῖς παραπτώμασι καὶ ταῖς ἁμαρτίαις—καὶ ὄντας ἡμᾶς νεκροὺς τοῖς παραπτώμασι, συνεζωοποίησε τῷ Χριστῷ.*

† Colos. ii. 12, 13. *Διὰ τῆς πίστεως τῆς ἐνεργείας τοῦ Θεοῦ τοῦ ἐγείραντος αὐτὸν ἐκ τῶν νεκρῶν. Καὶ ὑμᾶς νεκροὺς ὄντας ἐν τοῖς παραπτώμασι καὶ τῇ ἀκροβυστίᾳ τῆς σαρκὸς ὑμῶν, συνεζωοποίησε σὺν αὐτῷ.*

‡ Vide LOCKE, in loc.

mind of the exaltation of Christ ; and the second time by a description of heathen depravity. I have only to remark that Griesbach, in his very accurate edition, gives the parentheses very nearly in the same manner in which they are here placed ; and that, without any respect to the comparison which we are proposing.

Ephes. iv. 2—4. “ With all lowliness and meekness, “ with long-suffering, forbearing one another in love ; “ endeavouring to keep the unity of the Spirit in the “ bond of peace. There is one body and one Spirit, even “ as ye are called in one hope of your calling.” *

Colos. iii. 12—15. “ Put on therefore, as the elect “ of God, holy and beloved, bowels of mercies, kindness, “ humbleness of mind, meekness, long-suffering, for- “ bearing one another and forgiving one another, if any “ man have a quarrel against any ; even as Christ forgave “ you, so also do ye : and, above all these things, put on “ charity, which is the bond of perfectness ; and let the “ peace of God rule in your hearts, to the which also ye “ are called in one body.” †

In these two quotations the words *ταπεινοφροσύνη, πραότης, μακροθυμία, ἀνεχόμενοι ἀλλήλων*, occur in exactly the same order ; *ἀγάπη* is also found in both, but in a different connection : *σύνδεσμος τῆς εἰρήνης* answers to *σύνδεσμος τῆς τελειότητος* ; *ἐκλήθητε ἐν ἐνὶ σώματι* to *ἐν σῶμα καθὼς καὶ ἐκλήθητε ἐν μιᾷ ἐλπίδι* ; yet is this similitude found in the midst of sentences otherwise very different.

Ephes. iv. 16. “ From whom the whole body fitly “ joined together, and compacted by that which every

* Ephes. iv. 2—4. Μετὰ πάσης ταπεινοφροσύνης καὶ πραότητος, μετὰ μακροθυμίας, ἀνεχόμενοι ἀλλήλων ἐν ἀγάπῃ, σπουδάζοντες τηρεῖν τὴν ἐνότητα τοῦ πνεύματος ἐν τῷ συνδέσμῳ τῆς εἰρήνης· ἐν σῶμα καὶ ἐν πνεύμα, καθὼς καὶ ἐκλήθητε ἐν μιᾷ ἐλπίδι τῆς κλήσεως ὑμῶν.

† Colos. iii. 12—15. Ἐνδύσασθε οὖν, ὡς ἐκλεκτοὶ τοῦ Θεοῦ ἅγιοι καὶ ἡγαπημένοι, σπλάγχνα οἰκτιρῶν, χρηστότητα, ταπεινοφροσύνην, πραότητα, μακροθυμίαν· ἀνεχόμενοι ἀλλήλων, καὶ χαριζόμενοι ἑαυτοῖς, ἴαν τις πρὸς τινα ἔχῃ μομφήν· καθὼς καὶ ὁ Χριστὸς ἠχαρίσατο ὑμῖν, οὕτω καὶ ὑμεῖς· ἐπὶ παῶσι δὲ τούτοις τὴν ἀγάπην, ἥτις ἐστὶ σύνδεσμος τῆς τελειότητος· καὶ ἡ εἰρήνη τοῦ Θεοῦ βραβεύτω ἐν ταῖς καρδίαις ὑμῶν, εἰς ἣν καὶ ἐκλήθητε ἐν ἐνὶ σώματι.

“joint supplieth, according to the effectual working in
“the measure of every part, maketh increase of the
“body.” *

Col. ii. 19. “From which all the body, by joints and
“bands having nourishment ministered, and knit together,
“increaseth with the increase of God.” †

In these quotations are read ἐξ οὗ πᾶν τὸ σῶμα συμβιβαζόμενον in both places, ἐπιχορηγούμενον answering to ἐπιχορηγίας; διὰ τῶν ἀφῶν το διὰ πάσης ἀφῆς; αὖξει τὴν αὖξιν to ποιεῖται τὴν αὖξιν; and yet the sentences are considerably diversified in other parts.

Ephes. iv. 32. “And be ye kind one to another,
“tender-hearted, forgiving one another, even as God,
“for Christ’s sake, hath forgiven you.” ‡

Colos. iii. 13. “Forbearing one another and for-
“giving one another, if any man have a quarrel against
“any; even as Christ forgave you, so also do ye.” §

Here we have “forgiving one another, even as God,
“for Christ’s sake (ἐν Χριστῷ), hath forgiven you,” in
the first quotation, substantially repeated in the second.
But in the second the sentence is broken by the inter-
position of a new clause, “if any man have a quarrel
“against any:” and the latter part is a little varied; in-
stead of “God in Christ,” it is “Christ hath forgiven
“you.”

Ephes. iv. 22—24. “That ye put off concerning the
“former conversation the old man, which is corrupt ac-

* Ephes. iv. 16. Ἐξ οὗ πᾶν τὸ σῶμα συναρμολογούμενον καὶ συμβιβαζόμενον διὰ πάσης ἀφῆς τῆς ἐπιχορηγίας κατ’ ἐνέργειαν ἐν μέτρῳ ἐνδὲς ἑκάστου μέρους τὴν αὖξιν τοῦ σώματος ποιεῖται.

† Colos. ii. 19. Ἐξ οὗ πᾶν τὸ σῶμα διὰ τῶν ἀφῶν καὶ συνδέσεων ἐπιχορηγούμενον καὶ συμβιβαζόμενον, αὖξει τὴν αὖξιν τοῦ Θεοῦ.

‡ Ephes. iv. 32. Γίνεσθε δι’ εἰς ἀλλήλους χρηστοί, εὐσπλαγχνοί, χαρίζόμενοι ἑαυτοῖς, καθὼς καὶ ὁ Θεὸς ἐν Χριστῷ ἐχαρίσατο ὑμῖν.

§ Colos. iii. 13. Ἀνεχόμενοι ἀλλήλων, καὶ χαρίζόμενοι ἑαυτοῖς, ἂν τις πρὸς τινα ἔχη μομφήν· καθὼς καὶ ὁ Χριστὸς ἐχαρίσατο ὑμῖν, οὕτω καὶ ὑμεῖς.

“ cording to the deceitful lusts, and be renewed in the spirit of your mind ; and that ye put on the new man, which, after God, is created in righteousness and true holiness.” *

Colos. iii. 9, 10. “ Seeing that ye have put off the old man with his deeds, and have put on the new man, which is renewed in knowledge, after the image of him that created him.” †

In these quotations, “ putting off the old man, and putting on the new,” appears in both. The idea is further explained by calling it a renewal ; in the one, “ renewed in the spirit of your mind ;” in the other, “ renewed in knowledge.” In both, the new man is said to be formed according to the same model ; in the one, he is “ after God created in righteousness and true holiness ;” in the other, “ he is renewed after the image of him that created him.” In a word, it is the same person writing upon a kindred subject, with the terms and ideas which he had before employed, still floating in his memory. ‡

Ephes. v. 6—8. “ *Because of these things cometh the wrath of God upon the children of disobedience :* be not ye therefore partakers with them ; for ye were sometimes darkness, but now are ye light in the Lord ; walk as children of light.” §

* Ephes. iv. 22—24. Ἀποθέσθαι ὑμᾶς, κατὰ τὴν προτέραν ἀναστροφὴν, τὸν παλαιὸν ἄνθρωπον τὸν φθείρομενον κατὰ τὰς ἐπιθυμίας τῆς ἀπάτης· ἀνανεοῦσθαι δὲ τῷ πνεύματι τοῦ νοὸς ὑμῶν, καὶ ἐνδύσασθαι τὸν καινὸν ἄνθρωπον, τὸν κατὰ Θεὸν κτισθέντα ἐν δικαιοσύνῃ καὶ ᾧσίῳ τῆς ἀληθείας.

† Colos. iii. 9, 10. Ἀπεκδυσάμενοι τὸν παλαιὸν ἄνθρωπον σὺν ταῖς πράξεσιν αὐτοῦ· καὶ ἐνδυσάμενοι τὸν νέον, τὸν ἀνακαινούμενον εἰς ἐπίγνωσιν κατ’ εἰκόνα τοῦ κτίσαντος αὐτόν.

‡ In these comparisons, we often perceive the reason why the writer, though expressing the same idea, uses a different term ; namely, because the term before used is employed in the sentence under a different form ; thus, in the quotations under our eye, the new man is *καὶνὸς ἄνθρωπος* in the Ephesians, and *τὸν νέον* in the Colossians ; but then it is because *τὸν καινὸν* is used in the next word, *ἀνακαινούμενον*.

§ Ephes. v. 6—8. Διὰ ταῦτα γὰρ ἔρχεται ἡ ὀργὴ τοῦ Θεοῦ ἐπὶ τοῖς

Colos. iii. 6—8. “*For which things’ sake the wrath of God cometh on the children of disobedience ; in the which ye also walked sometime, when ye lived in them ; but now ye also put off all these.*” *

These verses afford a specimen of that *partial* resemblance which is only to be met with when no imitation is designed, when no studied recollection is employed, but when the mind, exercised upon the same subject, is left to the spontaneous return of such terms and phrases, as, having been used before, may happen to present themselves again. The sentiment of both passages is throughout alike ; half of that sentiment, the denunciation of God’s wrath, is expressed in identical words ; the other half, viz. the admonition to quit their former conversation, in words entirely different.

Ephes. v. 15, 16. “*See then that ye walk circumspectly ; not as fools, but as wise, redeeming the time.*” †

Colos. iv. 5. “*Walk in wisdom toward them that are without, redeeming the time.*” ‡

This is another example of that mixture which we remarked of sameness and variety in the language of one writer. “*Redeeming the time*” (ἐξαγοραζόμενοι τὸν καιρὸν) is a literal repetition. “*Walk not as fools, but as wise*” (περιπατεῖτε μὴ ὡς ἄσοφοι ἀλλ’ ὡς σοφοί) answers exactly in sense, and nearly in terms, to “*walk in wisdom*” (ἐν σοφίᾳ περιπατεῖτε). Περιπατεῖτε ἀκριβῶς is a very different phrase, but is intended to convey precisely the same idea as περιπατεῖτε πρὸς τοὺς ἔξω : ἀκριβῶς is not well rendered “*circumspectly*.” It means

υἱὸς τῆς ἀπειθείας. Μὴ οὖν γίνεσθε συμμετοχοὶ αὐτῶν. Ὅτι γὰρ ποτε σκότης, νῦν δὲ φῶς ἐν Κυρίῳ ὡς τέκνα φωτὸς περιπατεῖτε.

* Colos. iii. 6—8. Δι’ αὐτὴν ἔρχεται ἡ ὀργὴ τοῦ Θεοῦ ἐπὶ τοὺς υἱοὺς τῆς ἀπειθείας, ἐν οἷς καὶ ὑμεῖς περιπατήσατέ ποτε, ἕτε ἔζητε ἐν αὐτοῖς. Νυνὶ δὲ ἀπόθεσθε καὶ ὑμεῖς τὰ πάντα.

† Ephes. v. 15, 16. Βλέπετε οὖν πῶς ἀκριβῶς περιπατεῖτε· μὴ ὡς ἄσοφοι, ἀλλ’ ὡς σοφοί, ἐξαγοραζόμενοι τὸν καιρὸν.

‡ Colos. iv. 5. Ἐν σοφίᾳ περιπατεῖτε πρὸς τοὺς ἔξω, τὸν καιρὸν ἐξαγοραζόμενοι.

what in modern speech we should call "correctly;" and when we advise a person to behave "correctly," our advice is always given with a reference to "the opinion of others," πρὸς τοὺς ἕξω. "Walk correctly, redeeming "the time," i. e. suiting yourselves to the difficulty and ticklishness of the times in which we live, "because the "days are evil."

Ephes. vi. 19, 20. "And (praying) for me, that utterance may be given unto me, that I may open my mouth boldly to make known the mystery of the Gospel, for which I am an ambassador in bonds, that therein I may speak boldly, as I ought to speak." *

Colos. iv. 3, 4. "Withal praying also for us, that God would open unto us a door of utterance to speak the mystery of Christ, for which I am also in bonds, that I may make it manifest, as I ought to speak." †

In these quotations, the phrase "as I ought to speak" (ὡς δεῖ με λαλῆσαι), the words "utterance" (λόγος), "mystery" (μυστήριον), "open" (ἀνοίξῃ and ἐν ἀνοίξει), are the same. "To make known the mystery of the Gospel" (γνωρίσαι τὸ μυστήριον), answers to "make it manifest" (ἵνα φανερώσω αὐτό); "for which I am an ambassador in bonds" (ὑπὲρ οὗ πρεσβεύω ἐν ἀλύσει), to "for which I am also in bonds" (δι' ὃ καὶ δέδεμαι).

Ephes. v. 22.... "Wives, submit yourselves to your own husbands, as unto the Lord; for the husband is the head of the wife, even as Christ is the head of the church, and he is the saviour of the body. Therefore, as the church is subject unto Christ, so let the wives be to their own husbands in every thing. *Husbands, love your wives*, even as Christ also loved the church, and gave himself for it, that he might sanc-

* Ephes. vi. 19, 20. Καὶ ὑπὲρ ἐμοῦ, ἵνα μοι δοθεῖ λόγος ἐν ἀνοίξει τοῦ στοματός μου ἐν παρρησίᾳ, γνωρίσαι τὸ μυστήριον τοῦ εὐαγγελίου, ὑπὲρ οὗ πρεσβεύω ἐν ἀλύσει, ἵνα ἐν αὐτῷ παρρησιάσωμαι, ὡς δεῖ με λαλῆσαι.

† Colos. iv. 3, 4. Προσευχόμενοι ἅμα καὶ περὶ ἡμῶν, ἵνα ὁ Θεὸς ἀνοίξῃ ἡμῖν θύραν τοῦ λόγου, λαλῆσαι τὸ μυστήριον τοῦ Χριστοῦ, δι' ὃ καὶ δέδεμαι, ἵνα φανερώσω αὐτό, ὡς δεῖ με λαλῆσαι.

"tify and cleanse it with the washing of water by the
 "word ; that he might present it to himself a glorious
 "church, not having spot or wrinkle, or any such thing ;
 "but that it should be holy and without blemish. So
 "ought men to love their wives as their own bodies.
 "He that loveth his wife, loveth himself ; for no man
 "ever yet hated his own flesh, but nourisheth and che-
 "risheth it, even as the Lord the church ; for we are
 "members of his body, of his flesh and of his bones.
 "For this cause shall a man leave his father and mother,
 "and be joined unto his wife, and they two shall be one
 "flesh. This is a great mystery ; but I speak concern-
 "ing Christ and the church. Nevertheless, let every one
 "of you in particular so love his wife even as himself ;
 "and the wife see that she reverence her husband. *Chil-*
 "*dren, obey your parents in the Lord, for this is right.*
 "Honour thy father and mother (which is the first com-
 "mandment with promise), that it may be well with thee,
 "and that thou mayest live long on the earth. *And, ye*
 "*fathers, provoke not your children to wrath, but bring*
 "*them up in the nurture and admonition of the Lord.*
 "*Servants, be obedient to them that are your masters*
 "*according to the flesh, with fear and trembling, in*
 "*singleness of your heart, as unto Christ ; not with eye*
 "*service, as men pleasers, but as the servants of Christ,*
 "*doing the will of God from the heart, with good will*
 "*doing service, as to the Lord, and not to men ; know-*
 "*ing that whatsoever good thing any man doeth, the*
 "*same shall he receive of the Lord, whether he be bond*
 "*or free. And, ye masters, do the same things unto*
 "*them, forbearing threatening ; knowing that your mas-*
 "*ter also is in heaven, neither is there respect of persons*
 "*with him.*" *

† Colos. iii. 18 "Wives, submit yourselves unto

* Ephes. v. 22. Αἱ γυναῖκες, τοῖς ἰδίοις ἀνδράσιν ὑποτάσσεσθε, ὡς τῷ Κυρίῳ.

† Colos. iii. 18. Αἱ γυναῖκες, ὑποτάσσεσθε τοῖς ἰδίοις ἀνδράσιν, ὡς ἀνέκῳ ἐν Κυρίῳ.

Ephes. vi. 25. Οἱ ἄνδρες, ἀγαπᾶτε τὰς γυναῖκας ἑαυτῶν.

Colos. iii. 19. Οἱ ἄνδρες, ἀγαπᾶτε τὰς γυναῖκας.

“ your own husbands, as it is fit in the Lord. Husbands,
 “ love your wives, and be not bitter against them.
 “ Children, obey your parents in all things, for this is
 “ well pleasing unto the Lord. Fathers, provoke not
 “ your children to anger, lest they be discouraged. Ser-
 “ vants, obey in all things your masters according to the
 “ flesh ; not with eye service, as men pleasers, but in
 “ singleness of heart, fearing God ; and whatsoever ye
 “ do, do it heartily, as to the Lord, and not unto men,
 “ knowing that of the Lord ye shall receive the reward of
 “ the inheritance, for ye serve the Lord Christ. But
 “ he that doeth wrong shall receive for the wrong
 “ which he hath done ; and there is no respect of persons.
 “ Masters, give unto your servants that which is just and
 “ equal, knowing that ye also have a master in heaven.”

The passages marked by Italics in the quotation from the Ephesians, bear a strict resemblance, not only in signification but in terms, to the quotation from the Colossians. Both the words and the order of the words are in many clauses a duplicate of one another. In the Epistle to the Colossians, these passages are laid together ; in that to the Ephesians, they are divided by intermediate

Ephes. vi. 1. Τα τέκνα, ὑπακούετε τοῖς γονεῦσιν ὑμῶν ἐν Κυρίῳ· τοῦτο γάρ ἐστι δίκαιον.

Colos. iii. 20. Τα τέκνα, ὑπακούετε τοῖς γονεῦσι κατὰ πάντα· τοῦτο γάρ ἐστιν εὐάρεστον τῷ Κυρίῳ.

Ephes. vi. 4. Καί, οἱ πατέρες, μὴ παροργίζετε τὰ τέκνα ὑμῶν.

Colos. iii. 21. Οἱ πατέρες, μὴ * ἐρεθίζετε τὰ τέκνα ὑμῶν.

Ephes. vi. 5—8. Οἱ δοῦλοι, ὑπακούετε τοῖς κυρίοις κατὰ σάρκα, μετὰ φόβου καὶ τρόμου, ἐν ἀπλότῃ τῆς καρδίας ὑμῶν, ὡς τῷ Χριστῷ· μὴ κατ' ὀφθαλμοδουλείαν ὡς ἀνθρωπάρεσκοι, ἀλλ' ὡς δοῦλοι τοῦ Χριστοῦ, ποιοῦντες τὸ θέλημα τοῦ Θεοῦ ἐκ ψυχῆς· μετ' εὐνοίας δουλεύοντες τῷ Κυρίῳ, καὶ οὐκ ἀνθρώποις· εἰδότες ὅτι ὃ ἐὰν τι ἕκαστος ποιήσῃ ἀγαθόν, τοῦτο κομιεῖται παρὰ τοῦ Κυρίου, εἴτε δοῦλος, εἴτε ἐλεύθερος.

Colos. iii. 22 . . 24. Οἱ δοῦλοι, ὑπακούετε κατὰ πάντα τοῖς κατὰ σάρκα κυρίοις, μὴ ἐν ὀφθαλμοδουλείαις, ὡς ἀνθρωπάρεσκοι, ἀλλ' ἐν ἀπλότῃ καρδίᾳ, φοβούμενοι τὸν Θεόν· καὶ πᾶν ὃ, τι ἐὰν ποιῆτε, ἐκ ψυχῆς ἐργάζεσθε, ὡς τῷ Κυρίῳ, καὶ οὐκ ἀνθρώποις, εἰδότες ὅτι ἀπὸ Κυρίου ἀπολήψεσθε τὴν ἀνταπόδοσιν τῆς κληρονομίας· τῷ γὰρ Κυρίῳ Χριστῷ δουλεύετε.

* παροργίζετε, lectio non spernenda. GRIESBACH.

matter, especially by a long digressive allusion to the mysterious union between Christ and his church ; which possessing, as Mr. Locke hath well observed, the mind of the apostle, from being an incidental thought, grows up into the principal subject. The affinity between these two passages in signification, in terms, and in the order of the words, is closer than can be pointed out between any parts of any two epistles in the volume.

If the reader would see how the same subject is treated by a different hand, and how distinguishable it is from the production of the same pen, let him turn to the second and third chapters of the First Epistle of St. Peter. The duties of servants, of wives and of husbands, are enlarged upon in that epistle, as they are in the Epistle to the Ephesians ; but the subjects both occur in a different order, and the train of sentiment subjoined to each is totally unlike.

3. In two letters issuing from the same person, nearly at the same time, and upon the same general occasion, we may expect to trace the influence of association in the order in which the topics follow one another. Certain ideas universally or usually suggest others. Here the order is what we call natural, and from such an order nothing can be concluded. But when the order is arbitrary, yet alike, the concurrence indicates the effect of that principle, by which ideas, which have been once joined, commonly revisit the thoughts together. The epistles under consideration furnish the two following remarkable instances of this species of agreement.

Ephes. iv. 24. “ And that ye put on the new man, which after God is created in righteousness and true holiness ; wherefore, putting away lying, speak every man truth with his neighbour, for we are members one of another.” *

Colos. iii. 9. “ Lie not one to another ; seeing that ye have put off the old man, with his deeds ; and have

* Ephes. iv. 24, 25. Καὶ ἐνδύσασθαι τὸν καινὸν ἄνθρωπον, τὸν κατὰ Θεὸν κτισθέντα ἐν δικαιοσύνῃ καὶ ὁσιότητι τῆς ἀληθείας. διὰ ἀποθέμενοι τὸ ψεῦδος, λαλεῖτε ἀλήθειαν ἕκαστος μετὰ τοῦ πλησίον αὐτοῦ· ὅτι ἑσμεῖν ἀλλήλων μέλη.

“put on the new man, which is renewed in knowledge.”*

The vice of “lying,” or a correction of that vice, does not seem to bear any nearer relation to the “putting on the new man,” than a reformation in any other article of morals. Yet these two ideas, we see, stand in both epistles in immediate connection.

Ephes. v. 20, 21. “Giving thanks always for all things unto God and the Father, in the name of our Lord Jesus Christ; submitting yourselves one to another, in the fear of God. Wives, submit yourselves unto your own husbands, as unto the Lord.”†

Colos. iii. 17. “Whatsoever ye do, in word or deed, do all in the name of the Lord Jesus, giving thanks to God and the Father by him. Wives, submit yourselves unto your own husbands, as it is fit in the Lord.”‡

In both these passages, submission follows giving of thanks, without any similitude in the ideas which should account for the transition.

It is not necessary to pursue the comparison between the two epistles farther. The argument which results from it stands thus: No two other epistles contain a circumstance which indicates that they were written at the same, or nearly at the same time. No two other epistles exhibit so many marks of correspondency and resemblance. If the original which we ascribe to these two epistles be the true one, that is, if they were both really written by St. Paul, and both sent to their respective destination by the same messenger, the similitude is, in all points, what should be expected to take place. If they were forgeries, then the mention of Tychicus in both epistles, and in a manner which shows that he either car-

* Colos. iii. 9. *Μὴ ψεύδεσθε εἰς ἀλλήλους, ἀπεκδυσάμενοι τὸν παλαιὸν ἄνθρωπον, σὺν ταῖς πράξεσιν αὐτοῦ, καὶ ἐνδυσάμενοι τὸν ἀνακαινούμενον εἰς ἐπίγνωσιν.*

† Ephes. v. 20—22. *Εὐχαριστοῦντες πάντοτε ὑπὲρ πάντων, ἐν ὀνόματι τοῦ Κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, τῷ Θεῷ καὶ πατρὶ, ὑποτασσόμενοι ἀλλήλοις ἐν φόβῳ Θεοῦ. Αἱ γυναῖκες, τοῖς ἰδίοις ἀνδράσιν ὑποτάσσεσθε, ὡς τῷ Κυρίῳ.*

‡ Colos. iii. 17. *Καὶ πᾶν ὃ, τι ἂν ποιῇτε, ἐν λόγῳ, ἢ ἐν ἔργῳ, πάντα ἰν ὀνόματι Κυρίου Ἰησοῦ, εὐχαριστοῦντες τῷ Θεῷ καὶ πατρὶ δι’ αὐτοῦ. Αἱ γυναῖκες, ὑποτάσσεσθε τοῖς ἰδίοις ἀνδράσιν, ὡς ἀνήκεν ἐν Κυρίῳ.*

ried or accompanied both epistles, was inserted for the purpose of accounting for their similitude ; or else the structure of the epistles was designedly adapted to that circumstance ; or, lastly, the conformity between the contents of the forgeries, and what is thus indirectly intimated concerning their date, was only a happy accident. Not one of these three suppositions will gain credit with a reader who peruses the epistles with attention, and who reviews the several examples we have pointed out, and the observations with which they were accompanied.

No. II.

There is such a thing as a peculiar word or phrase cleaving, as it were, to the memory of a writer or speaker, and presenting itself to his utterance at every turn. When we observe this, we call it a *cant* word, or a *cant* phrase. It is a natural effect of habit ; and would appear more frequently than it does, had not the rules of good writing taught the ear to be offended with the iteration of the same sound, and oftentimes caused us to reject, on that account, the word which offered itself first to our recollection. With a writer who, like St. Paul, either knew not these rules, or disregarded them, such words will not be avoided. The truth is, an example of this kind runs through several of his epistles, and in the epistle before us *abounds* ; and that is in the word *riches* (πλοῦτος), used metaphorically as an augmentative of the idea to which it happens to be subjoined. Thus, “ the *riches* of his glory,” “ his *riches* in glory,” “ *riches* of the glory of his inheritance,” “ *riches* of the glory of this mystery,” Rom. ix. 23, Ephes. iii. 16, Ephes. i. 18, Colos. i. 27 ; *riches* of his grace,” twice in the Ephesians, i. 7, and ii. 7 ; “ *riches* of the full assurance of understanding,” Colos. ii. 2 ; “ *riches* of his goodness,” Rom. ii. 4 ; “ *riches* of the wisdom of God,” Rom. xi. 33 ; “ *riches* of Christ,” Ephes. iii. 8. In a like sense the adjective, Rom. x. 12, “ *rich* unto all that call upon him ;” Ephes. ii. 4. “ *rich* in mercy ;” 1 Tim. vi. 18, “ *rich*

in good works." Also the adverb, Colos. iii. 16, "let the word of Christ dwell in you *richly*." This figurative use of the word, though so familiar to St. Paul, does not occur in any part of the New Testament, except once in the Epistle of St. James, ii. 5 : "Hath not God chosen the *poor* of this world, *rich* in faith?" where it is manifestly suggested by the antithesis. I propose the frequent, yet seemingly unaffected use of this phrase, in the epistle before us, as one internal mark of its genuineness.

No. III.

There is another singularity in St. Paul's style, which, wherever it is found, may be deemed a badge of authenticity ; because, if it were noticed, it would not, I think, be imitated, inasmuch as it almost always produces embarrassment and interruption in the reasoning. This singularity is a species of digression which may properly, I think, be denominated *going off at a word*. It is turning aside from the subject upon the occurrence of some particular word, forsaking the train of thought then in hand, and entering upon a parenthetical sentence in which that word is the prevailing term. I shall lay before the reader some examples of this, collected from the other epistles, and then propose two examples of it which are found in the Epistle to the Ephesians. 2 Cor. ii. 14, at the word *savour* : "Now thanks be unto God, which always causeth us to triumph in Christ, and maketh manifest the *savour* of his knowledge by us in every place ; (for we are unto God a sweet *savour* of Christ, in them that are saved, and in them that perish ; to the one we are the *savour* of death unto death, and to the other the *savour* of life unto life ; and who is sufficient for these things ?) For we are not as many which corrupt the word of God, but as of sincerity, but as of God ; in the sight of God speak we in Christ." Again, 2 Cor. iii. 1, at the word *epistle* : "Need we, as some others, *epistles* of commendation to you, or of commendation from you ? (ye

“are our *epistle*, written in our hearts, known and read of all men ; forasmuch as ye are manifestly declared to be the *epistle* of Christ, ministered by us, written not with ink, but with the Spirit of the living God ; not in tables of stone, but in fleshly tables of the heart.”) The position of the words in the original, shows more strongly than in the translation that it was the occurrence of the word *ἐπιστολὴ* which gave birth to the sentence that follows. 2 Cor. iii. 1 : Εἰ μὴ *χαρίζομεν*, ὥς *τινες*, *συστατικῶν ἐπιστολῶν πρὸς ὑμᾶς*, ἢ ἐξ ὑμῶν *συστατικῶν* ; ἢ *ἐπιστολὴ ἡμῶν ὑμεῖς ἐστε*, ἐγγεγραμμένη ἐν ταῖς *καρδίαις ἡμῶν*, *γινωσκομένη καὶ ἀναγινωσκόμενη ὑπὸ πάντων ἀνθρώπων*, *φανερούμενοι ὅτι ἔστε ἐπιστολὴ Χριστοῦ διακονηθεῖσα ὑφ’ ἡμῶν*, ἐγγεγραμμένη οὐ μέλανι, ἀλλὰ *πνεύματι Θεοῦ ζῶντος· οὐκ ἐν πλαξὶ λιθίναις, ἀλλ’ ἐν πλαξὶ καρδίας σαρκίνας*.

Again, 2 Cor. iii. 12, &c., at the word *vail*: “Seeing then that we have such hope, we use great plainness of speech : and not as Moses, which put a *vail* over his face, that the children of Israel could not steadfastly look to the end of that which is abolished. But their minds were blinded ; for until this day remaineth the same *vail* untaken away in the reading of the Old Testament, which *vail* is done away in Christ ; but even unto this day, when Moses is read, the *vail* is upon their heart : nevertheless, when it shall turn to the Lord, the *vail* shall be taken away : (now the Lord is that Spirit ; and where the Spirit of the Lord is, there is liberty.) But we all, with open face, beholding as in a glass the glory of the Lord, are changed into the same image from glory to glory, even as by the Spirit of the Lord. — Therefore, seeing we have this ministry, as we have received mercy, we faint not.”

Who sees not that this whole allegory of the *vail* arises entirely out of the occurrence of the word, in telling us that “Moses put a *vail* over his face,” and that it drew the apostle away from the proper subject of his discourse, the dignity of the office in which he was engaged? which subject he fetches up again almost in the words, with which he had left it: “Therefore, seeing we have this

“ministry, as we have received mercy, we faint not.” The sentence which he had before been going on with, and in which he had been interrupted by the *vail*, was, “Seeing then that we have such hope, we use great plainness of speech.”

In the Epistle to the Ephesians, the reader will remark two instances, in which the same habit of composition obtains; he will recognize the same pen. One he will find, iv. 8—11, at the word *ascended*: “Wherefore he saith, “When he *ascended* up on high, he led captivity captive, and gave gifts unto men. (Now that he *ascended*, what is it but that he also descended first into the lower parts of the earth? He that descended is the same also that *ascended* up far above all heavens, that he might fill all things.) And he gave some, apostles,” &c.

The other appears, v. 12—15, at the word *light*: “For it is a shame even to speak of those things which are done of them in secret: but all things that are re-proved, are made manifest by the *light*; (for whatsoever doth make manifest, is *light*; wherefore he saith, “Awake, thou that sleepest, and arise from the dead, and Christ shall give thee *light*;) see then that ye walk circumspectly.”

No. IV:

Although it does not appear to have ever been disputed that the epistle before us was written by St. Paul, yet it is well known that a doubt has long been entertained concerning the persons to whom it was addressed. The question is founded partly in some ambiguity in the external evidence. Marcion, a heretic of the second century, as quoted by Tertullian, a father in the beginning of the third, calls it the Epistle to the Laodiceans. From what we know of Marcion, his judgment is little to be relied upon; nor is it perfectly clear that Marcion was rightly understood by Tertullian. If, however, Marcion be

brought to prove that some copies in his time gave ἐν Λαοδικείᾳ in the superscription, his testimony, if it be truly interpreted, is not diminished by his heresy ; for, as Grotius observes, "*cur in eâ re mentiretur, nihil erat causæ.*" The name ἐν Ἐφέσῳ, in the first verse, upon which word singly depends the proof that the epistle was written to the Ephesians, is not read in all the manuscripts now extant. I admit, however, that the external evidence preponderates with a manifest excess on the side of the received reading. The objection therefore principally arises from the contents of the epistle itself, which, in many respects, militate with the supposition that it was written to the church of Ephesus. According to the history, St. Paul had passed two whole years at Ephesus, Acts, xix. 10. And in this point, viz. of St. Paul having preached for a considerable length of time at Ephesus, the history is confirmed by the two Epistles to the Corinthians, and by the two Epistles to Timothy: "I will tarry at *Ephesus* until Pentecost," 1 Cor. xvi. 8. "We would not have you ignorant of our trouble which came to us in *Asia*," 2 Cor. i. 8. "As I besought thee to abide still at *Ephesus*, when I went into Macedonia," 1 Tim. i. 3. "And in how many things he ministered to me at *Ephesus*, thou knowest well," 2 Tim. i. 18. I adduce these testimonies, because, had it been a competition of credit between the history and the epistle, I should have thought myself bound to have preferred the epistle. Now, every epistle which St. Paul wrote to churches which he himself had founded, or which he had visited, abounds with references and appeals to what had passed during the time that he was present amongst them ; whereas there is not a text in the Epistle to the Ephesians, from which we can collect that he had ever been at Ephesus at all. The two Epistles to the Corinthians, the Epistle to the Galatians, the Epistle to the Philippians, and the two Epistles to the Thessalonians, are of this class ; and they are full of allusions to the apostle's history, his reception, and his conduct, whilst amongst them : the total want of which, in the epistle before us, is very difficult to account for, if it was in

truth written to the church of Ephesus, in which city he had resided for so long a time.

This is the first and strongest objection. But farther, the Epistle to the Colossians was addressed to a church in which St. Paul had never been. This we infer from the first verse of the second chapter: "For I would that ye knew what great conflict I have for you and for them at Laodicea, and for as many as have not seen my face in the flesh." There could be no propriety in thus joining the Colossians and Laodiceans with those "who had not seen his face in the flesh," if they did not also belong to the same description.* Now, his address to the Colossians, whom he had not visited, is precisely the same as his address to the Christians to whom he wrote in the epistle which we are now considering: "We give thanks to God and the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, praying always for you, *since we heard of your faith* in Christ Jesus, and of the love which ye have to all the saints," Col. i. 3, 4. Thus he speaks to the Colossians: in the epistle before us, as follows: "Wherefore I also, *after I heard of your faith* in the Lord Jesus, and love unto all the saints, cease not to give thanks for you in my prayers," i. 15. The terms of this address are observable. The words "having *heard* of your faith and love," are the very words, we see, which he uses towards strangers; and it is not probable that he should employ the same in accosting a church in which he had long exercised his ministry, and whose "faith and love" he must have personally known.† The

* Dr. Lardner contends against the validity of this conclusion; but, I think, without success. LARDNER, vol. xiv. p. 473. edit. 1757.

† Mr. Locke endeavours to avoid this difficulty, by explaining "*their faith*," of which St. Paul had heard," to mean the steadfastness of their persuasion, that they were called into the kingdom of God without subjection to the Mosaic institution. But this interpretation seems to me extremely *hard*; for, in the manner in which faith is here joined with love, in the expression, "your faith and love," it could not be meant to denote any particular tenet which distinguished one set of Christians from others; forasmuch as the expression describes the general virtues of the Christian profession. Vide LOCKE in loc.

Epistle to the Romans was written before St. Paul had been at Rome ; and his address to them runs in the same strain with that just now quoted : “ I thank my God, “ through Jesus Christ, for you all, that your faith is “ *spoken of* throughout the whole world,” Rom. i. 8. Let us now see what was the form in which our apostle was accustomed to introduce his epistles, when he wrote to those with whom he was already acquainted. To the Corinthians it was this : “ I thank my God always on “ your behalf, for the grace of God which is given you “ by Jesus Christ,” 1 Cor. i. 4. To the Philippians : “ I thank my God upon every remembrance of you,” Phil. i. 3. To the Thessalonians : “ We give thanks to “ God always for you all, making mention of you in our “ prayers, remembering without ceasing your work of “ faith, and labour of love,” 1 Thess. i. 2, 3. To Timothy : “ I thank God, whom I serve from my fore- “ fathers with pure conscience, that without ceasing I “ have remembrance of thee in my prayers night and “ day,” 2 Tim. i. 3. In these quotations, it is usually “ his *remembrance*, and never his *hearing* of them, which he makes the subject of his thankfulness to God.

As great difficulties stand in the way of supposing the epistle before us to have been written to the church of Ephesus, so I think it probable that it is actually the Epistle to the Laodiceans, referred to in the fourth chapter of the Epistle to the Colossians. The text which contains that reference is this : “ When this epistle is “ read among you, cause that it be read also in the church “ of the Laodiceans, and that ye likewise read the epistle “ from Laodicea,” iv. 16. The “ *epistle from Laodicea* ” was an epistle sent by St. Paul to that church, and by them transmitted to Colosse. The two churches were mutually to communicate the epistles they had received. This is the way in which the direction is explained by the greater part of commentators, and is the most probable sense that can be given to it. It is also probable that the epistle alluded to was an epistle which had been received by the church of Laodicea *late*ly. It appears, then, with a considerable degree of evidence, that there existed an

epistle of St. Paul's nearly of the same date with the Epistle to the Colossians, and an epistle directed to a church (for such the church of Laodicea was) in which St. Paul had never been. What has been observed concerning the epistle before us, shows that it answers perfectly to that character.

Nor does the mistake seem very difficult to account for. Whoever inspects the map of Asia Minor will see, that a person proceeding from Rome to Laodicea would probably land at Ephesus, as the nearest frequented seaport in that direction. Might not Tychicus then, in passing through Ephesus, communicate to the Christians of that place the letter, with which he was charged? And might not copies of that letter be multiplied and preserved at Ephesus? Might not some of the copies drop the words of designation *ἐν τῇ Λαοδικείᾳ* *, which it was of no consequence to an Ephesian to retain? Might not copies of the letter come out into the Christian church at large from Ephesus; and might not this give occasion to a belief that the letter was written to that church? And, lastly, might not this belief produce the error which we suppose to have crept into the inscription?

* And it is remarkable that there seem to have been some ancient copies without the words of designation, either the words *in Ephesus*, or the words *in Laodicea*. St. Basil, a writer of the fourth century, speaking of the present epistle, has this very singular passage: "And writing to the Ephesians, as truly united to him who is through knowledge, he (Paul) calleth them in a peculiar sense *such who are*; saying, *to the saints who are, and (or even) the faithful in Christ Jesus*; for so those before us have transmitted it, and we have found it in ancient copies." Dr. Mill interprets (and, notwithstanding some objections that have been made to him, in my opinion rightly interprets) these words of Basil, as declaring that this father had seen certain copies of the epistle in which the words "in Ephesus" were wanting. And the passage, I think, must be considered as Basil's fanciful way of explaining what was really a corrupt and defective reading; for I do not believe it possible that the author of the epistle could have originally written *ἀγίοις τοῖς ὁσιν*, without any name of place to follow it.

No. V.

As our epistle purports to have been written during St. Paul's imprisonment at Rome, which lies beyond the period to which the Acts of the Apostles brings up his history; and as we have seen and acknowledged that the epistle contains no reference to any transaction at Ephesus during the apostle's residence in that city, we cannot expect that it should supply many marks of agreement with the narrative. One coincidence, however, occurs, and a coincidence of that minute and less obvious kind, which, as hath been repeatedly observed, is of all others the most to be relied upon.

Chap. vi. 19, 20, we read, "praying for me, that I may open my mouth boldly to make known the mystery of the gospel, for which I am an ambassador in bonds." "In bonds," ἐν ἀλύσει, in a *chain*. In the twenty-eighth chapter of the Acts we are informed, that Paul, after his arrival at Rome, was suffered to dwell by himself with a soldier that kept him. Dr. Lardner has shown that this mode of custody was in use amongst the Romans, and that whenever it was adopted, the prisoner was bound to the soldier by a single chain; in reference to which St. Paul, in the twentieth verse of this chapter, tells the Jews, whom he had assembled, "For this cause therefore have I called for you to see you, and to speak with you, because that for the hope of Israel I am bound *with this chain*," τὴν αἰχλὺν ταύτην περικείμεαι. It is in exact conformity, therefore, with the truth of St. Paul's situation at the time, that he declares of himself in the epistle, πρεσβεύω ἐν ἀλύσει. And the exactness is the more remarkable, as αἰχλὺς (a chain) is nowhere used in the singular number to express any other kind of custody. When the prisoner's hands or feet were bound together, the word was δεσμοί (bonds), as in the twenty-sixth chapter [v. 29.] of the Acts, where Paul replies to Agrippa, "I would to God that not only thou, but also all that hear me this day, were both almost, and altogether such as I am, except *these bonds*," παρὲκ τῶν δεσμῶν

τούτων. When the prisoner was confined between two soldiers, as in the case of Peter, Acts, xii. 6, two chains were employed; and it is said, upon his miraculous deliverance, that the "chains" (αλύσεις, in the plural) "fell from his hands." Δεσμὸς the noun, and δέομαι the verb, being general terms, were applicable to this in common with any other species of personal coercion; but αλύσις, in the singular number, to none but this.

If it can be suspected that the writer of the present epistle, who, in no other particular, appears to have availed himself of the information concerning St. Paul delivered in the Acts, had, in this verse, borrowed the word, which he read in that book, and had adapted his expression to what he found there recorded of St. Paul's treatment at Rome; in short, that the coincidence here noted was effected by craft and design; I think it a strong reply to remark, that, in the parallel passage [iv. 3.] of the Epistle to the Colossians, the same allusion is not preserved: the words there are, "praying also for us, that God would "open unto us a door of utterance to speak the mystery "of Christ, for which *I am also in bonds,*" δι' ὃ καὶ δέδεμαι. After what has been shown in a preceding number, there can be little doubt but that these two epistles were written by the same person. If the writer, therefore, sought for, and fraudulently inserted, the correspondency into one epistle, why did he not do it in the other? A real prisoner might use either general words, which comprehended this amongst many other modes of custody; or might use appropriate words, which specified this, and distinguished it from any other mode. It would be accidental which form of expression he fell upon. But an impostor, who had the art, in one place, to employ the appropriate term for the purpose of fraud, would have used it in both places.

CHAP. VII.

THE EPISTLE TO THE PHILIPPIANS.

No. I.

WHEN a transaction is referred to in such a manner, as that the reference is easily and immediately understood by those who are beforehand, or from other quarters, acquainted with the fact, but is obscure or imperfect, or requires investigation, or a comparison of different parts, in order to be made clear to other readers, the transaction so referred to is probably real; because, had it been fictitious, the writer would have set forth his story more fully and plainly, not merely as conscious of the fiction, but as conscious that his readers could have no other knowledge of the subject of his allusion than from the information of which he put them in possession.

The account of Epaphroditus, in the Epistle to the Philippians, of his journey to Rome, and of the business which brought him thither, is the article to which I mean to apply this observation. There are three passages in the epistle, which relate to this subject. The first, i. 7: "Even as it is meet for me to think this of you all, because I have you in my heart, inasmuch as both in my bonds, and in the defence and confirmation of the gospel, ye all are *συγκοινωνοί μου τῆς χάριτος*, joint contributors to the gift which I have received." * Nothing more is said in this place. In the latter part of the second chapter, and at the distance of half the epistle from

* Pearce, I believe, was the first commentator who gave this sense to the expression; and I believe also, that his exposition is now generally assented to. He interprets in the same sense the phrase in the fifth verse, which our translation renders "your fellowship in the gospel;" but which in the original is not *κοινωνία τοῦ εὐαγγελίου*, or, *κοινωνία ἐν τῷ εὐαγγελίῳ*; but *κοινωνία εἰς τὸ εὐαγγέλιον*. [James Peirce of Exon is the commentator here referred to, in his *Paraphrase and Notes on the Epistle of St. Paul to the Philippians*. London, 1725.]

the last quotation, the subject appears again : “ Yet I
 “ supposed it necessary to send to you Epaphroditus, my
 “ brother and companion in labour, and fellow soldier,
 “ but your messenger, and *he that ministered to my*
 “ *wants* : for he longed after you all, and was full of
 “ heaviness, because that ye had heard that he had been
 “ sick : for indeed he was sick nigh unto death ; but God
 “ had mercy on him, and not on him only, but on me
 “ also, lest I should have sorrow upon sorrow. I sent
 “ him therefore the more carefully, that when ye see
 “ him again ye may rejoice, and that I may be the less
 “ sorrowful. Receive him therefore in the Lord with all
 “ gladness ; and hold such in reputation : because for the
 “ work of Christ he was nigh unto death, not regarding
 “ his life *to supply your lack of service toward me.*”
 “ ii. 25—30. The matter is here dropped, and no far-
 ther mention made of it till it is taken up near the con-
 clusion of the epistle, as follows : “ But I rejoiced in the
 “ Lord greatly, that now at the last your care of me hath
 “ flourished again ; wherein ye were also careful, but ye
 “ lacked opportunity : not that I speak in respect of
 “ want ; for I have learned in whatsoever state I am,
 “ therewith to be content. I know both how to be
 “ abased, and I know how to abound ; every where and
 “ in all things I am instructed both to be full and to be
 “ hungry, both to abound and to suffer need. I can do
 “ all things through Christ which strengtheneth me.
 “ Notwithstanding, ye have well done that ye did com-
 “ municate with my affliction. Now, ye Philippians,
 “ know also that in the beginning of the gospel, when
 “ I departed from Macedonia, no church communi-
 “ cated with me as concerning giving and receiving, but
 “ ye only : for even in Thessalonica ye sent once and
 “ again unto my necessity : not because I desire a gift ;
 “ but I desire fruit that may abound to your account.
 “ But I have all, and abound ; I am full, having received
 “ of Epaphroditus the things which were sent from you.”
 iv. 10—18. To the Philippian reader, who knew that
 contributions were wont to be made in that church for the
 apostle’s subsistence and relief, that the supply which they

were accustomed to send to him had been delayed by the want of opportunity, that Epaphroditus had undertaken the charge of conveying their liberality to the hands of the apostle, that he had acquitted himself of this commission at the peril of his life, by hastening to Rome under the oppression of a grievous sickness ; to a reader who knew all this beforehand, every line in the above quotations would be plain and clear. But how is it with a stranger ? The knowledge of these several particulars is necessary to the perception and explanation of the references ; yet that knowledge must be gathered from a comparison of passages lying at a great distance from one another. Texts must be interpreted by texts long subsequent to them, which necessarily produces embarrassment and suspense. The passage quoted from the beginning of the epistle contains an acknowledgment, on the part of the apostle, of the liberality which the Philippians had exercised towards him ; but the allusion is so general and indeterminate, that had nothing more been said in the sequel of the epistle, it would hardly have been applied to this occasion at all. In the second quotation, Epaphroditus is declared to have “ ministered to the apostle’s wants,” and “ to have supplied their lack of service towards him : ” but *how*, that is, at whose expense, or from what fund, he “ ministered,” or what was the “ lack of service ” which he supplied, are left very much unexplained, till we arrive at the third quotation, where we find that Epaphroditus “ ministered to St. Paul’s wants,” only by conveying to his hands the contributions of the Philippians : “ I am full, having received of Epaphroditus the things which were sent from you : ” and that “ the lack of service which he supplied ” was a delay or interruption of their accustomed bounty, occasioned by the want of opportunity : “ I rejoiced in the Lord greatly, that now at the last your care of me hath flourished again ; wherein ye were also careful, but ye lacked opportunity.” The affair at length comes out clear ; but it comes out by piecemeal. The clearness is the result of the reciprocal illustration of divided texts. Should any one choose therefore to insinuate, that this whole story of Epaphroditus, of his

journey, his errand, his sickness, or even his existence, might, for what we know, have no other foundation than in the invention of the forger of the epistle ; I answer, that a forger would have set forth his story connectedly, and also more fully and more perspicuously. If the epistle be authentic, and the transaction real, then every thing which is said concerning Epaphroditus and his commission, would be clear to those into whose hands the epistle was expected to come. Considering the Philippians as his readers, a person might naturally write upon the subject, as the author of the epistle has written ; but there is no supposition of forgery with which it will suit.

No. II.

The history of Epaphroditus supplies another observation : “ Indeed he was sick, nigh unto death ; but God “ had mercy on him, and not on him only, but on me “ also, lest I should have sorrow upon sorrow.” [ii. 27.] In this passage, no intimation is given that Epaphroditus’s recovery was miraculous. It is plainly, I think, spoken of as a natural event. This instance, together with one in the Second Epistle [iv. 20.] to Timothy (“ Trophimus have I left at Miletum sick ”), affords a proof that the power of performing cures, and, by parity of reason, of working other miracles, was a power which only visited the apostles occasionally, and did not at all depend upon their own will. Paul undoubtedly would have healed Epaphroditus if he could. Nor, if the power of working cures had awaited his disposal, would he have left his fellow traveller at Miletum sick. This, I think, is a fair observation upon the instances adduced ; but it is not the observation I am concerned to make. It is more for the purpose of my argument to remark, that forgery, upon such an occasion, would not have spared a miracle ; much less would it have introduced St. Paul professing the utmost anxiety for the safety of his friend, yet acknowledging himself unable to help him : which he does almost expressly, in the case of Trophimus, for he “ left him

“ sick ;” and virtually in the passage before us, in which he felicitates himself upon the recovery of Epaphroditus, in terms which almost exclude the supposition of any supernatural means being employed to effect it. This is a reserve which nothing but truth would have imposed.

No. III.

Chap. iv. 15, 16. “ Now, ye Philippians, know also that in the beginning of the gospel, when I departed from Macedonia, no church communicated with me as concerning giving and receiving, but ye only : for even in Thessalonica ye sent once and again unto my necessity.”

It will be necessary to state the Greek of this passage, because our translation does not, I think, give the sense of it accurately.

Οἴδατε δὲ καὶ ὑμεῖς, Φιλιππηῖοι, ὅτι ἐν ἀρχῇ τοῦ εὐαγγελίου, ὅτε ἐξῆλθον ἀπὸ Μακεδονίας, οὐδεμία μοι ἐκκλησία κοινοῶνῃσεν εἰς λόγον δοσεως καὶ λήψεως, εἰ μὴ ὑμεῖς μόνοι, ὅτι καὶ ἐν Θεσσαλονίκῃ καὶ ἅπαξ καὶ δις εἰς τὴν χρεῖαν μοι ἐπέμψατε·

The reader will please to direct his attention to the corresponding particles *ὅτι* and *ὅτι καὶ*, which connect the words ἐν ἀρχῇ τοῦ εὐαγγελίου, ὅτε ἐξῆλθον ἀπὸ Μακεδονίας, with the words ἐν Θεσσαλονίκῃ, and denote, as I interpret the passage, two distinct donations, or rather donations at two distinct periods, one at Thessalonica, ἅπαξ καὶ δις, the other *after* his departure from Macedonia, ὅτε ἐξῆλθον ἀπὸ Μακεδονίας.* I would render the passage, so as to mark these different periods, thus : “ Now, ye Philippians, know also that in the beginning

* Luke ii. 15. Καὶ ἐγένετο, ὡς ἀπῆλθον ἀπ’ αὐτῶν εἰς τὸν οὐρανὸν οἱ ἄγγελοι, “ as the angels were gone away,” i. e. *after* their departure, οἱ ποιμένες εἶπον πρὸς ἀλλήλους. Mat. xii. 43, “Ὅταν δὲ τὸ ἀκάθαρτον πνεῦμα ἐξέλθῃ ἀπὸ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου,” “ when the unclean spirit is gone,” i. e. *after* his departure, διέρχεται. John, xiii. 30, “Ὅτε ἐξῆλθε (Ἰούδας) “ when he was gone,” i. e. *after* his departure, λέγει Ἰησοῦς. Acts, x. 7, ὡς δὲ ἀπῆλθεν ὁ ἄγγελος ὁ λαλῶν τῷ Κορνηλίῳ, “ and when “ the angel which spake unto him was departed,” i. e. *after* his departure, φωνήσας δύο τῶν οἰκετῶν, &c.

“ of the gospel, when I was departed from Macedonia,
 “ no church communicated with me as concerning giving
 “ and receiving, but ye only ; and that also in Thessa-
 “ lonica ye sent once and again unto my necessity.” Now
 with this exposition of the passage compare 2 Cor. xi.
 8, 9 : “ I robbed other churches, taking wages of them
 “ to do you service : and when I was present with you
 “ and wanted, I was chargeable to no man ; for that
 “ which was lacking to me, the brethren which came from
 “ Macedonia supplied.”

It appears from St. Paul's history, as related in the Acts of the Apostles, that upon leaving Macedonia he passed, after a very short stay at Athens, into Achaia. It appears, secondly, from the quotation out of the Epistle to the Corinthians, that in Achaia he accepted no pecuniary assistance from the converts of that country ; but that he drew a supply for his wants from the Macedonian Christians. Agreeably whereunto it appears, in the third place, from the text which is the subject of the present number, that the brethren in Philippi, a city of Macedonia, had followed him with their munificence, ὅτε ἐξῆλθον ἀπὸ Μακεδονίας, when he was departed from Macedonia, that is, when he was *come into Achaia*.

The passage under consideration affords another circumstance of agreement deserving of our notice. The gift alluded to in the Epistle to the Philippians is stated to have been made “ in the beginning of the gospel.” This phrase is most naturally explained to signify the first preaching of the gospel in these parts ; viz. on that side of the Ægean sea. The succours referred to in the Epistle to the Corinthians, as received from Macedonia, are stated to have been received by him upon his first visit to the peninsula of Greece. The dates therefore assigned to the donation in the two epistles agree ; yet is the date in one ascertained very incidentally, namely, by the considerations which fix the date of the epistle itself ; and in the other, by an expression (“ the beginning of the gospel”) much too general to have been used, if the text had been penned with any view to the correspondency we are remarking.

Farther, the phrase, “ in the *beginning* of the gospel,”

raises an idea in the reader's mind, that the gospel had been preached there more than once. The writer would hardly have called the visit to which he refers the "beginning of the gospel," if he had not also visited them in some other stage of it. The fact corresponds with this idea. If we consult the sixteenth and twentieth chapters of the Acts, we shall find that St. Paul, before his imprisonment at Rome, during which this epistle purports to have been written, had been *twice* in Macedonia, and each time at Philippi. [He had been *three* times in Macedonia, A. xvi. 11, 12; xx. 1; *ibid.* vv. 3..6; the *first* and *third* time certainly at Philippi: and it can hardly be supposed otherwise on the *second* occasion.]

No. IV.

That Timothy had been along with St. Paul at Philippi is a fact which seems to be implied in this epistle twice. First, he joins in the salutation with which the epistle opens: "Paul and Timotheus, the servants of Jesus Christ, to all the saints in Christ Jesus which are at Philippi." Secondly, and more directly, the point is inferred from what is said concerning him, ii. 19: "But I trust in the Lord Jesus to send Timotheus shortly unto you, that I also may be of good comfort when I know your state; for I have no man like minded, who will naturally care for your state; for all seek their own, not the things which are Jesus Christ's: but *ye know the proof of him*, that as a son with the father, he hath served with me in the gospel." Had Timothy's presence with St. Paul at Philippi, when he preached the gospel there, been expressly remarked in the Acts of the Apostles, this quotation might be thought to contain a contrived adaptation to the history; although, even in that case, the averment, or rather the allusion in the epistle, is too oblique to afford much room for such suspicion. But the truth is, that in the history of St. Paul's transactions at Philippi, which occupies the greatest part of the sixteenth chapter of the Acts, no mention is made

of Timothy at all. What appears concerning Timothy in the history, so far as relates to the present subject, is this : “ When Paul came to Derbe and Lystra, behold a certain disciple was there, named Timotheus, whom Paul “ would have to go forth with him.” [A. xvi. 1.] The narrative then proceeds with the account of St. Paul’s progress through various provinces of the Lesser Asia, till it brings him down to Troas. At Troas he was warned in a vision to pass over into Macedonia. In obedience to which he crossed the Ægean sea to Samothracia, the next day to Neapolis, and from thence to Philippi. His preaching, miracles, and persecutions at Philippi, follow next ; after which Paul and his company, when they had passed through Amphipolis and Apollonia, came to Thessalonica, and from Thessalonica to Beræa. From Beræa the brethren sent away Paul ; “ but Silas and “ *Timotheus* abode there still.” [A. xvii. 14.] The itinerary, of which the above is an abstract, is undoubtedly sufficient to support an inference that Timothy was along with St. Paul at Philippi. We find them setting out together upon this progress from Derbe, in Lycaonia ; we find them together, near the conclusion of it, at Beræa, in Macedonia. It is highly probable, therefore, that they came together to Philippi, through which their route between these two places lay. If this be thought probable, it is sufficient. For what I wish to be observed is, that in comparing, upon this subject, the epistle with the history, we do not find a recital in one place of what is related in another ; but that we find, what is much more to be relied upon, an oblique allusion to an implied fact.

No. V.

Our epistle purports to have been written near the conclusion of St. Paul’s imprisonment at Rome, and after a residence in that city of considerable duration. These circumstances are made out by different intimations, and the intimations upon the subject preserve among themselves a just consistency, and a consistency certainly un-

meditated. First, the apostle had already been a prisoner at Rome so long, as that the reputation of his bonds, and of his constancy under them, had contributed to advance the success of the gospel: "But I would ye should understand, brethren, that the things which happened unto me have fallen out rather unto the furtherance of the gospel; so that my bonds in Christ are manifest in all the palace, and in all other places; and many of the brethren in the Lord, waxing confident by my bonds, are much more bold to speak the word without fear." [i. 12.. 14.] Secondly, the account given of Epaphroditus imports, that St. Paul, when he wrote the epistle, had been in Rome a considerable time: "He longed after you all, and was full of heaviness, because that ye had heard that he had been sick." [ii. 26.] Epaphroditus was with St. Paul at Rome. He had been sick. The Philippians had heard of his sickness, and he again had received an account how much they had been affected by the intelligence. The passing and repassing of these advices must necessarily have occupied a large portion of time, and must have all taken place during St. Paul's residence at Rome. Thirdly, after a residence at Rome thus proved to have been of considerable duration, he now regards the decision of his fate as nigh at hand. He contemplates either alternative, that of his deliverance, ii. 23, "Him therefore (Timothy) I hope to send *presently*, so soon as I shall see how it will go with me; but I trust in the Lord that I also myself shall come shortly:" that of his condemnation, 17, "Yea, and if I be offered * upon the sacrifice and service of your faith, I joy and rejoice with you all." This consistency is material, if the consideration of it be confined to the epistle. It is farther material, as it agrees, with respect to the duration of St. Paul's first imprisonment at Rome, with the account delivered in the Acts, which, having brought the apostle to Rome, closes the history by telling us "that he dwelt there *two whole years* in his own hired house."

* 'Αλλ' εἰ καὶ σπένδομαι ἐπὶ τῇ θυσίᾳ τῆς πίστεως ὑμῶν, if my blood be poured out as a libation upon the sacrifice of your faith.

No. VI.

Chap. i. 23. "For I am in a strait betwixt two, "having a desire to depart, and to be with Christ ; which "is far better."

With this compare 2 Cor. v. 8. "We are confident "and willing rather to be absent from the body, and to "be present with the Lord."

The sameness of sentiment in these two quotations is obvious. I rely however not so much upon that, as upon the similitude in the train of thought which in each epistle leads up to this sentiment, and upon the suitableness of that train of thought to the circumstances under which the epistles purport to have been written. This, I conceive, bespeaks the production of the same mind, and of a mind operating upon real circumstances. The sentiment is in both places preceded by the contemplation of imminent personal danger. To the Philippians he writes, in the twentieth verse of this chapter, "According to my earnest "expectation and my hope, that in nothing I shall be "ashamed, but that with all boldness, as always, *so now* "also, Christ shall be magnified in my body, whether it "be by life or by death." To the Corinthians, "Troubled "on every side, yet not distressed ; perplexed, but not "in despair ; persecuted, but not forsaken ; cast down, "but not destroyed ; always bearing about in the body "the dying of the Lord Jesus." [2 Cor. iv. 8.. 10.] This train of reflection is continued to the place from whence the words which we compare are taken. The two epistles, though written at different times, from different places, and to different churches, were both written under circumstances which would naturally recal to the author's mind the precarious condition of his life, and the perils which constantly awaited him. When the Epistle to the Philippians was written, the author was a prisoner at Rome, expecting his trial. When the Second Epistle to the Corinthians was written, he had lately escaped a danger in which he had given himself over for lost. The epistle opens with a recollection of this sub-

ject, and the impression accompanied the writer's thoughts throughout.

I know that nothing is easier than to transplant into a forged epistle a sentiment or expression which is found in a true one ; or, supposing both epistles to be forged by the same hand, to insert the same sentiment or expression in both. But the difficulty is to introduce it in just and close connection with the train of thought going before, and with a train of thought apparently generated by the circumstances under which the epistle is written. In two epistles, purporting to be written on different occasions, and in different periods of the author's history, this propriety would not easily be managed.

No. VII.

Chap. i. 29, 30 ; ii. 1, 2. "For unto you is given in the behalf of Christ, not only to believe on him, but also to suffer for his sake, having the same conflict which *ye saw in me*, and now bear to be in me. If there be, therefore, any consolation in Christ, if any comfort of love, if any fellowship of the Spirit, if any bowels and mercies ; fulfil ye my joy, that ye be like minded, having the same love, being of one accord, of one mind."

With this compare Acts xvi. 22 : "And the multitude (at Philippi) rose up against them (Paul and Silas) ; and the magistrates rent off their clothes, and commanded to beat them ; and when they had laid many stripes upon them, they cast them into prison, charging the jailer to keep them safely ; who, having received such a charge, thrust them into the inner prison, and made their feet fast in the stocks."

The passage in the epistle is very remarkable. I know not an example in any writing of a juster pathos, or which more truly represents the workings of a warm and affectionate mind, than what is exhibited in the quotation before us.* The apostle reminds his Philippians of their

* The original is very spirited. *Εἰ τις οὖν παράκλησις ἐν Χριστῷ, εἴ τι παραμύθιον ἀγάπης, εἴ τις κοινωνία πνεύματος, εἴ τινα σπλάγγχα καὶ οἰκτιρμοὶ, πληρώσατέ μου τὴν χαράν*

being joined with himself in the endurance of persecution for the sake of Christ. He conjures them, by the ties of their common profession and their common sufferings, to "fulfil his joy;" to complete, by the unity of their faith, and by their mutual love, that joy with which the instances he had received of their zeal and attachment had inspired his breast. Now if this was the real effusion of St. Paul's mind, of which it bears the strongest internal character, then we have in the words "the same conflict which ye saw in me," an authentic confirmation of so much of the apostle's history in the Acts, as relates to his transactions at Philippi; and through that of the intelligence and general fidelity of the historian.

CHAP. VIII.

THE EPISTLE TO THE COLOSSIANS.

No. I.

THERE is a circumstance of conformity between St. Paul's history and his letters, especially those which were written during his first imprisonment at Rome, and more especially the epistles to the Colossians and Ephesians, which, being too close to be accounted for from accident, yet too indirect and latent to be imputed to design, cannot easily be resolved into any other original than truth. Which circumstance is this, that St. Paul in these epistles attributes his imprisonment not to his preaching of Christianity, but to his asserting the right of the Gentiles to be admitted into it without conforming themselves to the Jewish law. This was the doctrine to which he considered himself as a martyr. Thus in the epistle before us, i. 24. (I Paul) "who now rejoice in my sufferings for you" — "*for you*," i. e. for those whom he had never seen; for a few verses afterwards he adds, "I would that

“ye knew what great conflict I have for you, and for them in Laodicea, and for as many as have not seen my face in the flesh.” His sufferings therefore for *them* was, in their general capacity of Gentile Christians, agreeably to what he explicitly declares in his Epistle to the Ephesians, iv. 1. “For this cause, I Paul, the prisoner of Jesus Christ, *for you Gentiles.*” Again in the epistle now under consideration, iv. 3. Withal “praying also for us, that God would open unto us a door of utterance to speak the *mystery* of Christ, for which I am also in bonds.” What that “mystery of Christ” was, the Epistle to the Ephesians [iii. 4.] distinctly informs us; “whereby when ye read ye may understand my knowledge in the *mystery of Christ*, which, in other ages, was not made known unto the sons of men, as it is now revealed unto his holy apostles and prophets by the Spirit, *that the Gentiles should be fellow-heirs, and of the same body, and partakers of his promise in Christ by the gospel.*” This, therefore, was the *confession* for which he declares himself to be in bonds. Now let us enquire how the occasion of St. Paul’s imprisonment is represented in the history. The apostle had not long returned to Jerusalem from his second visit into Greece, when an uproar was excited in that city by the clamour of certain Asiatic Jews [A. xxi. 27.] who, “having seen Paul in the temple, stirred up all the people, and laid hands on him.” The charge advanced against him was, that “he taught all men every where against the people, and the law, and this place; and farther brought Greeks also into the temple, and polluted that holy place.” The former part of the charge seems to point at the doctrine, which he maintained, of the admission of the Gentiles, under the new dispensation, to an indiscriminate participation of God’s favour with the Jews. But what follows makes the matter clear. When, by the interference of the chief captain, Paul had been rescued out of the hands of the populace, and was permitted to address the multitude who had followed him to the stairs of the castle, he delivered a brief account of his birth, of the early course of his life, of his miraculous conversion;

and is proceeding in his narrative, until he comes to describe a vision which was presented to him, as he was praying in the temple ; and which bade him depart out of Jerusalem, “ for I will send thee far hence *unto the Gentiles.*” Acts xxii. 21. “ They gave him audience,” says the historian, “ *unto this word* ; and then lifted up “ their voices, and said, Away with such a fellow from “ the earth.” Nothing can show more strongly than this account does, what was the offence which drew down upon St. Paul the vengeance of his countrymen. His mission to the Gentiles, and his open avowal of that mission, was the intolerable part of the apostle’s crime. But although the real motive of the prosecution appears to have been the apostle’s conduct towards the Gentiles ; yet, when his accusers came before a Roman magistrate, a charge was to be framed of a more legal form. The profanation of the temple was the article they chose to rely upon. This, therefore, became the immediate subject of Tertullus’s oration before Felix, and of Paul’s defence. But that he all along considered his ministry amongst the Gentiles as the actual source of the enmity that had been exercised against him, and in particular as the cause of the insurrection in which his person had been seized, is apparent from the conclusion of his discourse before Agrippa : “ I have appeared unto thee,” says he, describing what passed upon his journey to Damascus, “ for this purpose, to make thee a minister and a witness, “ both of these things which thou hast seen, and of those “ things in the which I will appear unto thee, delivering “ thee from the people and from the Gentiles, unto whom “ now I send thee, to open their eyes, and to turn them “ from darkness to light, and from the power of Satan “ unto God, that they may receive forgiveness of sins, “ and inheritance among them which are sanctified by “ faith that is in me. Whereupon, O King Agrippa, I “ was not disobedient unto the heavenly vision ; but “ showed first unto them of Damascus, and at Jerusalem, “ and throughout all the coasts of Judea, and then to the “ Gentiles, that they should repent and turn to God, and “ do works meet for repentance. *For these causes the*

“ Jews caught me in the temple, and went about to kill me.” [A. xxvi. 16 . . 21.] The seizing, therefore, of St. Paul’s person, from which he was never discharged till his final liberation at Rome, and of which, therefore, his imprisonment at Rome was the continuation and effect, was not in consequence of any general persecution set on foot against Christianity ; nor did it befall him simply, as professing or teaching Christ’s religion, which James and the elders at Jerusalem did as well as he (and yet for any thing that appears, remained at that time unmolested) ; but it was distinctly and specifically brought upon him by his activity in preaching to the Gentiles, and by his boldly placing them upon a level with the once-favoured and still self-flattered posterity of Abraham. How well St. Paul’s letters, purporting to be written during this imprisonment, agree with this account of its cause and origin, we have already seen.

No. II.

Chap. iv. 10. “ Aristarchus my fellow-prisoner saluteth you, and Marcus sister’s son to Barnabas, touching whom ye received commandments ; if he come unto you, receive him, and Jesus, which is called Justus, who are of the circumcision.”

We find Aristarchus as a companion of our apostle in the nineteenth chapter of the Acts, and the twenty-ninth verse : “ And the whole city of Ephesus was filled with confusion ; and having caught Gaius and *Aristarchus*, men of Macedonia, *Paul’s companions in travel*, they rushed with one accord into the theatre.” And we find him upon his journey with St. Paul to Rome, in the twenty-seventh chapter, and the second verse : “ And when it was determined that we should sail into Italy, they delivered Paul and certain other prisoners unto one named Julius, a centurion of Augustus’s band ; and, entering into a ship of Adramyttium, we launched, meaning to sail by the coast of Asia ; one *Aristarchus* a Macedonian of Thessalonica, being with us.” But

might not the author of the epistle have consulted the history ; and, observing that the historian had brought Aristarchus along with Paul to Rome, might he not for that reason, and without any other foundation, have put down his name amongst the salutations of an epistle, purporting to be written by the apostle from that place ? I allow so much of possibility to this objection, that I should not have proposed this in the number of coincidences clearly undesigned, had Aristarchus stood alone. The observation that strikes me in reading the passage is, that together with Aristarchus, whose journey to Rome we trace in the history, are joined Marcus and Justus, of whose coming to Rome the history says nothing. Aristarchus alone appears in the history, and Aristarchus alone would have appeared in the epistle, if the author had regulated himself by that conformity. Or if you take it the other way ; if you suppose the history to have been made out of the epistle, why the journey of Aristarchus to Rome should be recorded, and not that of Marcus and Justus, if the groundwork of the narrative was the appearance of Aristarchus's name in the epistle, seems to be unaccountable.

“ Marcus, *sister's son* to Barnabas.” Does not this hint account for Barnabas's adherence to Mark in the contest that arose with our apostle concerning him ? “ And some days after Paul said unto Barnabas, Let us go again and visit our brethren in every city where we have preached the word of the Lord, and see how they do : and *Barnabas determined to take with them John, whose surname was Mark* ; but Paul thought not good to take him with them, who departed from them from Pamphylia, and went not with them to the work ; and the contention was so sharp between them, that they departed asunder one from the other ; and so Barnabas took Mark and sailed unto Cyprus.” [A. xv. 36 . . 39.] The history which records the dispute has not preserved the circumstance of Mark's relationship to Barnabas. It is no where noticed but in the text before us. As far, therefore, as it applies, the application is certainly undesigned.

“*Sister’s son to Barnabas.*” This woman, the mother of Mark, and the sister of Barnabas, was, as might be expected, a person of some eminence amongst the Christians of Jerusalem. It so happens that we hear of her in the history. “When Peter was delivered from prison, he came to the house of *Mary the mother of John, whose surname was Mark*, where many were gathered together praying.” Acts, xii. 12. There is somewhat of coincidence in this; somewhat bespeaking real transactions amongst real persons.

No. III.

The following coincidence, though it bear the appearance of great nicety and refinement, ought not, perhaps, to be deemed imaginary. In the salutations with which this, like most of St. Paul’s epistles, concludes, we have “Aristarchus and Marcus, and Jesus, which is called *Justus, who are of the circumcision.*” (iv. 10, 11.) Then follow also “*Epaphras, Luke the beloved physician, and Demas.*” Now as this description, “*who are of the circumcision,*” is added after the three first names, it is inferred, not without great appearance of probability, that the rest, amongst whom is Luke, were not of the circumcision. Now can we discover any expression in the Acts of the Apostles, which ascertains whether the author of the book was a Jew or not? If we can discover that he was not a Jew, we fix a circumstance in his character, which coincides with what is here, indirectly indeed, but not very uncertainly, intimated concerning Luke: and we so far confirm both the testimony of the primitive church, that the Acts of the Apostles was written by St. Luke, and the general reality of the persons and circumstances brought together in this epistle. The text in the Acts, which has been construed to show that the writer was not a Jew, is the nineteenth verse of the first chapter, where, in describing the field which had been purchased with the reward of Judas’s iniquity, it is said, “that it was known unto all the dwellers at Jeru-

“ salem ; insomuch as that field is called, in *their* proper “ tongue, Aceldama, that is to say, the field of blood.” These words are by most commentators taken to be the words and observation of the historian, and not a part of St. Peter’s speech, in the midst of which they are found. If this be admitted, then it is argued, that the expression, “ in *their* proper tongue,” would not have been used by a Jew, but is suitable to the pen of a Gentile, writing concerning Jews.* The reader will judge of the probability of this conclusion, and we urge the coincidence no farther than that probability extends. The coincidence, if it be one, is so remote from all possibility of design, that nothing need be added to satisfy the reader upon that part of the argument.

No. IV.

Chap. iv. 9. “ With Onesimus, a faithful and beloved brother, *who is one of you.*”

Observe how it may be made out that Onesimus was a Colossian. Turn to the Epistle to Philemon, and you will find that Onesimus was the servant or slave of Philemon. The question, therefore, will be to what city Philemon belonged. In the epistle addressed to him this is not declared. It appears only that he was of the same place, whatever that place was, with an eminent Christian named Archippus. “ Paul, a prisoner of Jesus Christ, and “ Timothy our brother, unto Philemon our dearly beloved “ and fellow-labourer ; and to our beloved Apphia, and “ *Archippus* our fellow-soldier, and to the church in thy “ house.” Now turn back to the Epistle to the Colossians, and you will find Archippus saluted by name amongst the Christians of that church. “ Say to “ Archippus, take heed to the ministry which thou hast “ received in the Lord, that thou fulfil it.” (iv. 17.) The necessary result is, that Onesimus also was of the same city, agreeably to what is said of him, “ he is one of you.”

* Vide Benson’s Dissertation, vol. i. [ii.] p. 318. of his works, ed. 1756.

And this result is the effect, either of truth which produces consistency without the writer's thought or care, or of a contexture of forgeries confirming and falling in with one another by a species of fortuity of which I know no example. The supposition of design, I think, is excluded, not only because the purpose to which the design must have been directed, viz. the verification of the passage in our epistle, in which it is said concerning Onesimus, "he is one of you," is a purpose which would be lost upon ninety-nine readers out of a hundred; but because the means made use of are too circuitous to have been the subject of affectation and contrivance. Would a forger, who had this purpose in view, have left his readers to hunt it out, by going forward and backward from one epistle to another, in order to connect Onesimus with Philemon, Philemon with Archippus, and Archippus with Colosse? all which he must do before he arrive at his discovery, that it was truly said of Onesimus, "he is one of you."

CHAP. IX.

THE FIRST EPISTLE TO THE THESSALONIANS.

No. I.

It is known to every reader of scripture, that the First Epistle to the Thessalonians speaks of the coming of Christ in terms which indicate an expectation of his speedy appearance: "For this we say unto you by the word of the Lord, that *we* which are alive and remain unto the coming of the Lord, shall not prevent them which are asleep. For the Lord himself shall descend from heaven with a shout, with the voice of the archangel, and with the trump of God, and the dead in Christ shall rise first; then *we which are alive and*

“*remain*, shall be caught up together with them in the clouds — But ye, brethren, are not in darkness, that “that day should overtake you as a thief.” (iv. 15, 16, 17. v. 4.)

Whatever other construction these texts may *bear*, the idea they leave upon the mind of an ordinary reader, is that of the author of the epistle looking for the day of judgment to take place in his own time, or near to it. Now the use which I make of this circumstance, is to deduce from it a proof that the epistle itself was not the production of a subsequent age. Would an impostor have given this expectation to St. Paul, after experience had proved it to be erroneous? or would he have put into the apostle’s mouth, or, which is the same thing, into writings purporting to come from his hand, expressions, if not necessarily conveying, at least easily interpreted to convey, an opinion which was then known to be founded in mistake? I state this as an argument to show that the epistle was cotemporary with St. Paul, which is little less than to show that it actually proceeded from his pen. For I question whether any ancient forgeries were executed in the life-time of the person whose name they bear: nor was the primitive situation of the church likely to give birth to such an attempt.

No. II.

Our epistle concludes with a direction, that it should be publicly read in the church to which it was addressed: “I charge you by the Lord, that this epistle be read unto
• “all the holy brethren.” The existence of this clause in the body of the epistle is an evidence of its authenticity; because to produce a letter purporting to have been publicly read in the church of Thessalonica, when no such letter in truth had been read or heard of in that church, would be to produce an imposture destructive of itself. At least, it seems unlikely that the author of an imposture would voluntarily, and even officiously, afford a handle to so plain an objection. Either the epistle was publicly

read in the church of Thessalonica during St. Paul's life-time, or it was not. If it was, no publication could be more authentic, no species of notoriety more unquestionable, no method of preserving the integrity of the copy more secure. If it was not, the clause we produce would remain a standing condemnation of the forgery, and, one would suppose, an invincible impediment to its success.

If we connect this article with the preceding, we shall perceive that they combine into one strong proof of the genuineness of the epistle. The preceding article carries up the date of the epistle to the time of St. Paul; the present article fixes the publication of it to the church of Thessalonica. Either therefore the church of Thessalonica was imposed upon by a false epistle, which in St. Paul's life-time they received and read publicly, as his, carrying on a communication with him all the while, and the epistle referring to the continuance of that communication; or other Christian churches, in the same life-time of the apostle, received an epistle purporting to have been publicly read in the church of Thessalonica, which nevertheless had not been heard of in that church; or lastly, the conclusion remains, that the epistle now in our hands is genuine.

No. III.

Between our epistle and the history the accordancy in many points is circumstantial and complete. The history relates, that, after Paul and Silas had been beaten with many stripes at Philippi, shut up in the inner prison, and their feet made fast in the stocks, as soon as they were discharged from their confinement, they departed from thence, and, when they had passed through Amphipolis and Apollonia, came to Thessalonica, where Paul opened and alleged that Jesus was the Christ, Acts, xvi. 23 . . . xvii. 1 . . 3. The epistle written in the name of Paul and Sylvanus (Silas), and of Timotheus, who also appears to have been along with them at Philippi, (vide Philip. No. IV.) speaks to the church of Thessalonica thus :

“ Even after that we had suffered before, and were shamefully entreated, as ye know, at Philippi, we were bold in our God to speak unto you the gospel of God with much contention.” (ii. 2.)

The history relates, that after they had been some time at Thessalonica, “ the Jews which believed not, set all the city in an uproar, and assaulted the house of Jason, where Paul and Silas were, and sought to bring them out to the people.” Acts, xvii. 5. The epistle declares, “ when we were with you, we told you before that we should suffer tribulation ; even *as it came to pass and ye know.*” (iii. 4.)

The history brings Paul and Silas and Timothy together at Corinth, soon after the preaching of the gospel at Thessalonica : “ And when Silas and Timotheus were come from Macedonia (to Corinth), Paul was pressed in spirit.” Acts, xviii. 5. The epistle is written in the name of these three persons, who consequently must have been together at the time, and speaks throughout of their ministry at Thessalonica as a recent transaction : “ We, brethren, *being taken from you for a short time,* in presence not in heart, endeavoured the more abundantly to see your face with great desire.” (ii. 17.)

The harmony is indubitable ; but the points of history in which it consists, are so expressly set forth in the narrative, and so directly referred to in the epistle, that it becomes necessary for us to show, that the facts in one writing were not copied from the other. Now amidst some minuter discrepancies, which will be noticed below, there is one circumstance which mixes itself with all the allusions in the epistle, but does not appear in the history any where ; and that is of a visit which St. Paul had intended to pay to the Thessalonians during the time of his residing at Corinth : “ Wherefore we would have come unto you (even I Paul) once and again, but Satan hindered us.” (ii. 18.) “ Night and day praying exceedingly that we might see your face, and might perfect that which is lacking in your faith. Now God himself and our Father, and our Lord Jesus Christ, direct our way unto you.” (iii. 10, 11.) Concern-

ing a design which was not executed, although the person himself, who was conscious of his own purpose, should make mention in his letters, nothing is more probable than that his historian should be silent, if not ignorant. The author of the epistle could not, however, have learnt this circumstance from the history, for it is not there to be met with ; nor, if the historian had drawn his materials from the epistle, is it likely that he would have passed over a circumstance, which is amongst the most obvious and prominent of the facts to be collected from that source of information.

No. IV.

Chap. iii. 1—7. “ Wherefore, when we could no longer forbear, we thought it good *to be left at Athens alone*, and sent Timotheus, our brother and minister of God, to establish you and to comfort you concerning your faith : — but now when Timotheus came from you unto us, and brought us good tidings of your faith and charity, we were comforted over you in all our affliction and distress by your faith.”

The history relates, that when Paul came out of Macedonia to Athens, Silas and Timothy staid behind at Beræa : “ The brethren sent away Paul to go as it were to the sea ; but Silas and Timotheus abode there still : and they that conducted Paul brought him to Athens.” Acts, xvii. 14, 15. The history farther relates, that after Paul had tarried some time at Athens, and had proceeded from thence to Corinth, whilst he was exercising his ministry in that city, Silas and Timothy came to him from Macedonia, Acts, xviii. 5. But to reconcile the history with the clause in the epistle which makes St. Paul say, “ I thought it good to be left at Athens alone, and to send Timothy unto you,” it is necessary to suppose that Timothy had come up with St. Paul at Athens ; a circumstance which the history does not mention. I remark, therefore, that although the history do not expressly notice this arrival, yet it contains intimations which render

it extremely probable that the fact took place. First, as soon as Paul had reached Athens, he sent a message back to Silas and Timothy “for to come to him with all speed.” Acts, xvii. 15. Secondly, his stay at Athens was on purpose that they might join him there: “Now while “Paul *waited for them at Athens*, his spirit was stirred “in him.” Acts, xvii. 16. Thirdly, his departure from Athens does not appear to have been in any sort hastened, or abrupt. It is said, “after these things,” viz. his disputation with the Jews, his conferences with the philosophers, his discourse at Areopagus, and the gaining of some converts, “he departed from Athens and came to “Corinth.” [xviii. 1.] It is not hinted that he quitted Athens before the time that he had intended to leave it; it is not suggested that he was driven from thence, as he was from many cities, by tumults or persecutions, or because his life was no longer safe. Observe then the particulars which the history *does* notice — that Paul had ordered Timothy to follow him without delay, that he waited at Athens on purpose that Timothy might come up with him, that he staid there as long as his own choice led him to continue. Laying these circumstances, which the history does disclose, together, it is highly probable that Timothy came to the apostle at Athens; a fact which the epistle, we have seen, virtually asserts, when it makes Paul send Timothy back from Athens to Thessalonica. The *sending back of Timothy into Macedonia* accounts also for his not coming to Corinth till after Paul had been fixed in that city for some considerable time. Paul had found out Aquila and Priscilla, abode with them and wrought, being of the same craft; and reasoned in the synagogue every sabbath-day, and persuaded the Jews and the Greeks. Acts, xviii. 1—5. All this passed at Corinth before Silas and Timotheus were come from Macedonia. Acts, xviii. 5. If this was the first time of their coming up with him after their separation at Beræa, there is nothing to account for a delay so contrary to what appears from the history itself to have been St. Paul’s plan and expectation. This is a conformity of a peculiar species. The epistle discloses a fact which is not pre-

served in the history; but which makes what is said in the history more significant, probable, and consistent. The history bears marks of an omission; the epistle by reference furnishes a circumstance which supplies that omission.

No. V.

Chap. ii. 14. "For ye, brethren, became followers
"of the churches of God which in Judea are in Christ
"Jesus; for ye also have suffered like things *of your*
"*own countrymen*, even as they have of the Jews."

To a reader of the Acts of the Apostles, it might seem, at first sight, that the persecutions which the preachers and converts of Christianity underwent, were suffered at the hands of their old adversaries the Jews. But, if we attend carefully to the accounts there delivered, we shall observe, that, though the opposition made to the gospel usually *originated* from the enmity of the Jews, yet in almost all places the Jews went about to accomplish their purpose, by stirring up the Gentile inhabitants against their converted countrymen. Out of Judea they had not power to do much mischief in any other way. This was the case at Thessalonica in particular: "The Jews which
"believed not, moved with envy, set all the city in an
"uproar." Acts, xvii. 5. It was the same a short time afterwards at Beræa: "When the Jews of Thessalonica
"had knowledge that the word of God was preached of
"Paul at Beræa, they came thither also, and stirred up
"the people." Acts, xvii. 13. And, before this, our apostle had met with a like species of persecution, in his progress through the Lesser Asia: "In every city the
"unbelieving Jews stirred up the Gentiles, and made
"their minds evil affected against the brethren." Acts, xiv. 2. The epistle therefore represents the case accurately as the history states it. It was the Jews always who set on foot the persecutions against the apostles and their followers. He speaks truly therefore of them, when he says in this epistle, "they both killed the Lord Jesus

“ and their own prophets, and have *persecuted us*— for—
 “ bidding us to speak unto the Gentiles.” (ii. 15, 16.)
 But out of Judea it was at the hands of the Gentiles, it
 was “ of their own countrymen,” that the injuries they
 underwent were immediately sustained : “ Ye have suf-
 “ fered like things of your own countrymen, even as they
 “ have of the Jews.”

No. VI.

The apparent discrepancies between our epistle and the history, though of magnitude sufficient to repel the imputation of confederacy or transcription (in which view they form a part of our argument), are neither numerous, nor very difficult to reconcile.

One of these may be observed in the ninth and tenth verses of the second chapter : “ For ye remember, “ brethren, our labour and travel ; for labouring night “ and day, because we would not be chargeable unto any “ of you, we preached unto you the gospel of God. Ye “ are witnesses, and God also, how holily and justly and “ unblameably we behaved ourselves among you that be- “ lieve.” A person who reads this passage is naturally led by it to suppose, that the writer had dwelt at Thessalonica for some considerable time ; yet of St. Paul’s ministry in that city, the history gives no other account than the following : “ that he came to Thessalonica, “ where was a synagogue of the Jews ; that, as his “ manner was, he went in unto them, and *three sabbath- “ days* reasoned with them out of the scriptures ; that “ some of them believed, and consorted with Paul and “ Silas.” The history then proceeds to tell us, that the Jews which believed not set the city in an uproar, and assaulted the house of Jason, where Paul and his companions lodged ; that the consequence of this outrage was, that “ the brethren immediately sent away Paul “ and Silas by night unto Beræa.” Acts, xvii. 1—10. From the mention of his preaching three sabbath-days in the Jewish synagogue, and from the want of any farther

specification of his ministry, it has usually been taken for granted that Paul did not continue at Thessalonica more than three weeks. This, however, is inferred without necessity. It appears to have been St. Paul's practice, in almost every place that he came to, upon his first arrival to repair to the synagogue. He thought himself bound to propose the gospel to the Jews *first*, agreeably to what he declared at Antioch in Pisidia; "it was necessary "that the word of God should first have been spoken "to you." Acts, xiii. 46. If the Jews rejected his ministry, he quitted the synagogue, and betook himself to a Gentile audience. At Corinth, upon his first coming thither, he reasoned in the synagogue every sabbath; "but when the Jews opposed themselves, and blasphemed, "he departed thence," expressly telling them, "from "henceforth I will go unto the Gentiles; and he remained in that city a year and six months." Acts, xviii. 6—11. At Ephesus, in like manner, for the space of three months he went into the synagogue; but, "when divers were hardened and believed not, but spake "evil of that way, he departed from them and separated "the disciples, disputing daily in the school of one "Tyrannus; and this continued by the space of two "years." Acts, xix. 9, 10. Upon inspecting the history, I see nothing in it which negatives the supposition, that St. Paul pursued the same plan at Thessalonica which he adopted in other places; and that, though he resorted to the synagogue only three sabbath days, yet he remained in the city, and in the exercise of his ministry amongst the Gentile citizens, much longer; and until the success of his preaching had provoked the Jews to excite the tumult and insurrection by which he was driven away.

Another seeming discrepancy is found in the ninth verse of the first chapter of the epistle: "For they themselves show of us what manner of entering in we had "unto you, and how *ye turned to God from idols* to "serve the living and true God, [and to wait for his "Son from heaven, whom he raised from the dead, even "Jesus, which delivered us from the wrath to come.]" This text contains an assertion, that, by means of St.

Paul's ministry at Thessalonica, many idolatrous Gentiles had been brought over to Christianity. Yet the history, in describing the effects of that ministry, only says, that "some of the Jews believed, and of the devout Greeks a great multitude, and of the chief women not a few." (xvii. 4.) The devout Greeks were those who already worshipped the one true God; and therefore could not be said, by embracing Christianity, "to be turned to God from idols."

This is the difficulty. The answer may be assisted by the following observations. The Alexandrian and Cambridge manuscripts read (for τῶν σεβομένων Ἑλλήνων πολὺ πλῆθος) τῶν σεβομένων καὶ Ἑλλήνων πολὺ πλῆθος. In which reading they are also confirmed by the Vulgate Latin. And this reading is in my opinion strongly supported by the considerations, first, that οἱ σεβόμενοι alone, *i. e.* without Ἑλλήνες, is used in this sense in this same chapter, Paul being come to Athens, διελέγετο ἐν τῇ συναγωγῇ τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις καὶ τοῖς σεβομένοις: secondly, that σεβόμενοι and Ἑλλήνες nowhere come together. The expression is redundant. The οἱ σεβόμενοι must be Ἑλλήνες. Thirdly, that the καὶ is much more likely to have been left out incuriâ manus than to have been put in.

Or, after all, if we be not allowed to change the present reading, which is undoubtedly retained by a great plurality of copies, may not the passage in the history be considered as describing only the effects of St. Paul's discourses during the three sabbath-days in which he preached in the synagogue? and may it not be true, as we have remarked above, that his application to the Gentiles at large, and his success amongst them, was posterior to this?

CHAP. X.

THE SECOND EPISTLE TO THE THESSALONIANS.

No. I.

IT may seem odd to allege obscurity itself as an argument, or to draw a proof in favour of a writing, from that which is usually considered as the principal defect in its composition. The present epistle, however, furnishes a passage, hitherto unexplained, and probably inexplicable by us, the existence of which, under the darkness and difficulties that attend it, can only be accounted for upon the supposition of the epistle being genuine; and upon that supposition is accounted for with great ease. The passage which I allude to is found in the second chapter : [vv. 3 . . 8.] “ That day shall not come, except there
 “ come a falling away first, and that man of sin be re-
 “ vealed, the son of perdition, who opposeth and ex-
 “ alteth himself above all that is called God, or that is
 “ worshipped; so that he as God sitteth in the temple
 “ of God, showing himself that he is God. Remember
 “ ye not, that WHEN I WAS YET WITH YOU I TOLD
 “ YOU THESE THINGS? *And now ye know what with-*
 “ *holdeth, that he might be revealed in his time*; for the
 “ mystery of iniquity doth already work, *only he that*
 “ *now letteth will let, until he be taken out of the way*;
 “ and then shall that wicked be revealed, whom the Lord
 “ shall consume with the spirit of his mouth, and shall
 “ destroy with the brightness of his coming.” It were
 superfluous to prove, because it is in vain to deny, that
 this passage is involved in great obscurity, more especially
 the clauses distinguished by Italics. Now the observa-
 tion I have to offer is founded upon this, that the
 passage expressly refers to a conversation which the
 author had previously holden with the Thessalonians upon

the same subject : “Remember ye not, that when I was “yet with you *I told you these things?* And now ye “*know* what withholdeth.” If such conversation actually passed ; if, whilst he was yet with them, “he *told* them “those things,” then it follows that the epistle is authentic. And of the reality of this conversation it appears to be a proof, that what is said in the epistle might be understood by those who had been present to such conversation, and yet be incapable of being explained by any other. No man writes unintelligibly on purpose. But it may easily happen, that a part of a letter which relates to a subject, upon which the parties had conversed together before, which refers to what had been before *said*, which is in truth a portion or continuation of a former discourse, may be utterly without meaning to a stranger, who should pick up the letter upon the road, and yet be perfectly clear to the person to whom it is directed, and with whom the previous communication had passed. And if, in a letter which thus accidentally fell into my hands, I found a passage expressly referring to a former conversation, and difficult to be explained without knowing that conversation, I should consider this very difficulty as a proof that the conversation had actually passed, and consequently that the letter contained the real correspondence of real persons.

No. II.

Chap. iii. 8. “Neither did we eat any man’s bread “for nought, but wrought with labour and travail night “and day, that we might not be chargeable to any of “you : not because we have not power, but to make ourselves an ensample unto you to follow us.”

In a letter, purporting to have been written to another of the Macedonic churches, we find the following declaration :

“Now ye, Philippians, know also that in the beginning of the gospel, when I departed from Macedonia,

“no church communicated with me as concerning giving and receiving, but ye only.” [iv. 15.]

The conformity between these two passages is strong and plain. They confine the transaction to the same period. The Epistle to the Philippians refers to what passed “in the beginning of the gospel,” that is to say, during the first preaching of the gospel on that side of the Ægean sea. The Epistle to the Thessalonians speaks of the apostle’s conduct in that city upon “his first entrance in unto them,” which the history informs us was in the course of his first visit to the peninsula of Greece.

As St. Paul tells the Philippians, “that no church communicated with him as concerning giving and receiving, but they only,” he could not, consistently with the truth of this declaration, have received any thing from the neighbouring church of Thessalonica. What thus appears by general implication in an epistle to another church, when he writes to the Thessalonians themselves, is noticed expressly and particularly: “neither did we eat any man’s bread for nought, but wrought night and day, that we might not be chargeable to any of you.”

The texts here cited farther also exhibit a mark of conformity with what St. Paul is made to say of himself in the Acts of the Apostles. The apostle not only reminds the Thessalonians that he had not been chargeable to any of them, but he states likewise the motive which dictated this reserve: “not because we have not power, but to make ourselves an ensample unto you to follow us.” (iii. 9.) This conduct, and what is much more precise, the end which he had in view by it, was the very same as that which the history attributes to St. Paul in a discourse, which it represents him to have addressed to the elders of the church of Ephesus: “Yea, ye yourselves also know that these hands have ministered unto my necessities, and to them that were with me. I have *showed* you all things, how *that so labouring ye ought to support the weak.*” Acts, xx. 34. The sentiment in the epistle and in the speech is in both parts of it so much alike, and yet the words which convey it show so little of

imitation or even of resemblance, that the agreement cannot well be explained without supposing the speech and the letter to have really proceeded from the same person.

No. III.

Our reader remembers the passage in the First Epistle to the Thessalonians, in which St. Paul spoke of the coming of Christ : “ This we say unto you by the word “ of the Lord, that we which are alive, and remain unto “ the coming of the Lord, shall not prevent them which “ are asleep ; for the Lord himself shall descend from “ heaven, and the dead in Christ shall rise first ; then we “ which are alive and remain, shall be caught up together “ with them in the clouds, and so shall we be ever with “ the Lord. — But ye, brethren, are not in darkness, “ that that day should overtake you as a thief.” 1 Thess. iv. 15—17, and v. 4. It should seem that the Thessalonians, or some however amongst them, had from this passage conceived an opinion (and that not very unnaturally) that the coming of Christ was to take place instantly, *ὅτι ἐνέστηκεν* * ; and that this persuasion had produced, as it well might, much agitation in the church. The apostle therefore now writes, amongst other purposes, to quiet this alarm, and to rectify the misconception that had been put upon his words : “ Now “ we beseech you, brethren, by the coming of our Lord “ Jesus Christ, and by our gathering together unto him, “ that ye be not soon shaken in mind, or be troubled, “ neither by spirit nor by word, *nor by letter, as from “ us, as that the day of Christ is at hand.*” [2 Th. ii. 1, 2.] If the allusion which we contend for be admitted, namely, if it be admitted, that the passage in the Second Epistle relates to the passage in the First, it amounts to a considerable proof of the genuineness of both epistles. I have no conception, because I know no example, of such

* *ὅτι ἐνέστηκεν* nempe hoc anno, says Grotius, *ἐνέστηκεν* hic dicitur de re præsentī, ut Rom. viii. 38. 1 Cor. iii. 22. Gal. i. 4. Heb. ix. 9.

a device in a forgery, as first to frame an ambiguous passage in a letter, then to represent the persons to whom the letter is addressed as mistaking the meaning of the passage, and lastly to write a second letter in order to correct this mistake.

I have said that this argument arises out of the text, *if* the allusion be admitted ; for I am not ignorant that many expositors understand the passage in the Second Epistle, as referring to some forged letters, which had been produced in St. Paul's name, and in which the apostle had been made to say that the coming of Christ was then at hand. In defence, however, of the explanation which we propose, the reader is desired to observe,

1. The strong fact, that there exists a passage in the First Epistle, to which that in the Second is capable of being referred, *i. e.* which accounts for the error the writer is solicitous to remove. Had no other epistle than the Second been extant, and had it under these circumstances come to be considered, whether the text before us related to a forged epistle or to some misconstruction of a true one, many conjectures and many probabilities might have been admitted in the enquiry, which can have little weight, when an epistle is produced, containing the very sort of passage we were seeking, that is, a passage liable to the misinterpretation which the apostle protests against.

2. That the clause which introduces the passage in the Second Epistle bears a particular affinity to what is found in the passage cited from the First Epistle. The clause is this : " We beseech you, brethren, by the coming of our Lord Jesus Christ, and *by our gathering together unto him.*" Now in the First Epistle the description of the coming of Christ is accompanied with the mention of this very circumstance of his saints " being collected round him." " The Lord himself shall descend from heaven with a shout, with the voice of the archangel, and with the trump of God, and the dead in Christ shall rise first ; then we which are alive and remain, shall be caught up together with them in the clouds, *to meet the Lord* in the air." 1 Thess. iv. 16, 17. This I

suppose to be the “gathering together unto him” intended in the Second Epistle; and that the author when he used these words, retained in his thoughts what he had written on the subject before.

3. The Second Epistle is written in the joint name of Paul, Silvanus, and Timotheus, and it cautions the Thessalonians against being misled “by letter as from us” (*ὡς δι’ ἡμῶν*). Do not these words “*δι’ ἡμῶν*” appropriate the reference to some writing which bore the name of these three teachers? Now this circumstance, which is a very close one, belongs to the epistle at present in our hands; for the epistle which we call the First Epistle to the Thessalonians contains these names in its superscription.

4. The words in the original, as far as they are material to be stated, are these: [2 Th. ii. 2.] “*εἰς τὸ μὴ ταχέως σαλευθῆναι ὑμᾶς ἀπὸ τοῦ νοῦς, μηδὲ θροεῖσθαι, μήτε διὰ πνεύματος, μήτε διὰ λόγου, μήτε δι’ ἐπιστολῆς, ὡς δι’ ἡμῶν, ὡς ὅτι ἐνέστηκεν ἡμέρα τοῦ Χριστοῦ.*” Under the weight of the preceding observations may not the words *μήτε διὰ λόγου, μήτε δι’ ἐπιστολῆς, ὡς δι’ ἡμῶν* be construed to signify quasi nos quid tale aut dixerimus aut scripserimus*, intimating that their words had been mistaken, and that they had in truth said or written no such thing.

* Should a contrary interpretation be preferred, I do not think that it implies the conclusion that a false epistle had then been published in the apostle’s name. It will completely satisfy the allusion in the text to allow, that some one or other at Thessalonica had pretended to have been told by St. Paul and his companions, or to have seen a letter from them in which they had said, that the day of Christ was at hand. In like manner, as Acts, xv. 1, 24, it is recorded that some had pretended to have received instructions from the church of Jerusalem, which had not been received: “to whom they gave no such commandment.” And thus Dr. Benson interpreted the passage *μηδὲ θροεῖσθαι, μήτε διὰ πνεύματος, μήτε διὰ λόγου, μήτε δι’ ἐπιστολῆς, ὡς δι’ ἡμῶν*, “nor be dismayed by any revelation, or discourse, or epistle, which any one shall pretend to have heard or received from us.”

CHAP. XI.

THE FIRST EPISTLE TO TIMOTHY.

FROM the third verse of the first chapter, "As I besought thee to abide still at Ephesus when I went into Macedonia," it is evident that this epistle was written soon after St. Paul [on some occasion] had gone to Macedonia from Ephesus. Dr. Benson fixes its date to the time of St. Paul's journey, recorded in the beginning of the twentieth chapter of the Acts: "And after the uproar (excited by Demetrius at Ephesus) was ceased, Paul called unto him the disciples, and embraced them, and departed for to go into Macedonia." And in this opinion Dr. Benson is followed by Michaelis, as he was preceded by the greater part of the commentators who have considered the question. There is, however, one objection to the hypothesis which these learned men appear to me to have overlooked; and it is no other than this, that the superscription of the Second Epistle to the Corinthians seems to prove, that at the time St. Paul is supposed by them to have written this epistle to Timothy, Timothy in truth was with St. Paul in Macedonia. Paul, as it is related in the Acts, left Ephesus "for to go into Macedonia." When he had got into Macedonia, he wrote his Second Epistle to the Corinthians. Concerning this point there exists little variety of opinion. It is plainly indicated by the contents of the epistle. It is also strongly implied that the epistle was written *soon* after the apostle's arrival in Macedonia; for he begins his letter by a train of reflection, referring to his persecutions in Asia as to recent transactions, as to dangers from which he had lately been delivered. But in the salutation with which the epistle opens *Timothy is joined with St. Paul*, and consequently could not at that time be "left behind at Ephesus." And as to the only solution of the difficulty which can be thought of, viz. that

Timothy, though he was left behind at Ephesus upon St. Paul's departure from Asia, yet might follow him so soon after, as to come up with the apostle in Macedonia before he wrote his epistle to the Corinthians; that supposition is inconsistent with the terms and tenor of the epistle throughout. For the writer speaks uniformly of his intention to return to Timothy at Ephesus, and not of his expecting Timothy to come to him in Macedonia: "These things write I unto thee, *hoping to come unto thee shortly*; but if I tarry long, that thou mayest know how thou oughtest to behave thyself." (iii. 14, 15.) "*Till I come* give attendance to reading, to exhortation, to doctrine." (iv. 13.)

Since, therefore, the leaving of Timothy behind at Ephesus, when Paul went into Macedonia, suits not with any journey into Macedonia recorded in the Acts, I concur with Bishop Pearson * in placing the date of this epistle, and the journey referred to in it, at a period subsequent to St. Paul's first imprisonment at Rome, and consequently subsequent to the *æra*, up to which the Acts of the Apostles brings his history.

The only difficulty which attends our opinion is, that St. Paul must, according to us, have come to Ephesus after his liberation at Rome, contrary as it should seem to what he foretold to the Ephesian elders, "that they should see his face no more." And it is to save the infallibility of this prediction, and for no other reason of weight, that an earlier date is assigned to this epistle. The prediction itself, however, when considered in connection with the circumstances under which it was delivered, does not seem to demand so much anxiety. The words in question are found in the twenty-fifth verse of the twentieth chapter of the Acts: "And now behold, I know that ye all, among whom I have gone preaching the kingdom of God, shall see my face no more." In the twenty-second and twenty-third verses of the same chapter, *i. e.* two verses before, the apostle makes this declaration:—"And now behold, I go bound in the spirit

* [*Annal. Paulin.* p. 22; and more fully, *De Successione*, &c. p. 75.]

“unto Jerusalem, not knowing the things that shall befall me there ; save that the Holy Ghost witnesseth in every city, saying, that bonds and afflictions abide me.” This “witnessing of the Holy Ghost” was undoubtedly prophetic and supernatural. But it went no farther than to foretel that bonds and afflictions awaited him. And I can very well conceive, that this might be all which was communicated to the apostle by extraordinary revelation, and that the rest was the conclusion of his own mind, the desponding inference which he drew from strong and repeated intimations of approaching danger. And the expression “I know,” which St. Paul here uses, does not perhaps, when applied to future events affecting himself, convey an assertion so positive and absolute as we may at first sight apprehend. In the first chapter of the Epistle to the Philippians and the twenty-fifth verse, “I know,” says he, “that I shall abide and continue with you all for your furtherance and joy of faith.” Notwithstanding this strong declaration, in the second chapter and twenty-third verse of this same epistle, and speaking also of the very same event, he is content to use a language of some doubt and uncertainty : “Him therefore I hope to send presently, so soon as *I shall see how it will go with me* ; but *I trust* in the Lord that I also myself shall come shortly.” And a few verses preceding these, he not only seems to doubt of his safety, but almost to despair ; to contemplate the possibility at least of his condemnation and martyrdom : “Yea, and if I be offered upon the sacrifice and service of your faith, I joy and rejoice with you all.”

[The very clear and able argument of Bishop Pearson, to show that the leaving of Timothy behind at Ephesus, 1 Tim. i. 3, when St. Paul went into Macedonia, consists not with any one of the three journeys recorded in the Acts, (xvi. 9, 10 ; xx. 1 ; xx. 3.) may be read, *Annal. Paulin.* p. 22 ; and more fully developed, pp. 75, 76, *De Successione primorum Romæ Episcoporum*, in the same volume of his *Opera Posthuma Chronologica*. Against the interpretation of Acts, xx. 25, as if it must be taken for infallible truth and an inspired prediction, Ludovicus Cappellus argues with great clearness and success in *Histor. Apostolic. Illustrata*. pp. 34, 35.]

No. I.

But can we show that St. Paul visited Ephesus after his liberation at Rome? or rather, can we collect any hints from his other letters which make it probable that he did? If we can, then we have a *coincidence*. If we cannot, we have only an unauthorised supposition, to which the exigency of the case compels us to resort. Now, for this purpose, let us examine the Epistle to the Philippians and the Epistle to Philemon. These two epistles purport to be written whilst St. Paul was yet a prisoner at Rome. To the Philippians [ii. 24.] he writes as follows:—“ I trust in the Lord that I also myself shall come shortly.” To Philemon, who was a Colossian, he gives [v. 22.] this direction: “ But withal prepare me also a lodging, for I trust that through your prayers I shall be given unto you.” An inspection of the map will show us that Colosse was a city of the Lesser Asia, lying eastward, and at no great distance from Ephesus. Philippi was on the other, *i. e.* the western side of the *Ægean* sea. If the apostle executed his purpose; if, in pursuance of the intention expressed in his letter to Philemon, he came to Colosse soon after he was set at liberty at Rome, it is very improbable that he would omit to visit Ephesus, which lay so near to it, and where he had spent three years of his ministry. As he was also under a promise to the church of Philippi to see them “ shortly;” if he passed from Colosse to Philippi, or from Philippi to Colosse, he could hardly avoid taking Ephesus in his way.

No II.

Chap. v. 9. “ Let not a widow be taken into the number under threescore years old.”

This accords with the account delivered in the sixth chapter [v. 1.] of the Acts: “ And in those days, when the number of the disciples was multiplied, there arose

“ a murmuring of the Grecians against the Hebrews, *“ because their widows were neglected in the daily ministrations.”* It appears that, from the first formation of the Christian church, provision was made out of the public funds of the society for the indigent *widows* who belonged to it. The history, we have seen, distinctly records the existence of such an institution at Jerusalem, a few years after our Lord’s ascension ; and is led to the mention of it very incidentally, viz. by a dispute of which it was the occasion, and which produced important consequences to the Christian community. The epistle, without being suspected of borrowing from the history, refers, briefly indeed, but decisively, to a similar establishment, subsisting some years afterwards at Ephesus. This agreement indicates that both writings were founded upon real circumstances.

But, in this article, the material thing to be noticed is the mode of expression : “ Let not a widow be taken into the number.” No previous account or explanation is given, to which these words, “ into the number,” can refer ; but the direction comes concisely and unpreparedly : “ Let not a widow be taken into the number.” Now this is the way in which a man writes who is conscious that he is writing to persons already acquainted with the subject of his letter ; and who, he knows, will readily apprehend and apply what he says, by virtue of their being so acquainted : but it is not the way in which a man writes upon any other occasion ; and least of all, in which a man would draw up a feigned letter, or introduce a supposititious fact.*

* It is not altogether unconnected with our general purpose to remark, in the passage before us, the selection and reserve which St. Paul recommends to the governors of the church of Ephesus, in the bestowing relief upon the poor, because it refutes a calumny which has been insinuated, that the liberality of the first Christians was an artifice to catch converts ; or one of the temptations, however, by which the idle and the mendicant were drawn into this society : “ Let not a widow be taken into the number under threescore years old, having been the wife of one man, well reported of for good works ; if she have brought up children, if she have lodged strangers, if she have washed the saints’ feet, if she have relieved the afflicted, if she have diligently followed

No. III.

Chap. iii. 2, 3. "A bishop must be blameless, the husband of one wife, vigilant, sober, of good behaviour, given to hospitality, apt to teach; not given to wine, no striker, not greedy of filthy lucre, but patient, not a brawler, not covetous; one that ruleth well his own house."

"*No striker*:" That is the article which I single out from the collection as evincing the antiquity at least, if not the genuineness, of the epistle, because it is an article which no man would have made the subject of caution who lived in an advanced æra of the church. It agreed with the infancy of the society, and with no other state of it. After the government of the church had acquired the dignified form which it soon and naturally assumed, this

"every good work: but the younger widows refuse." (vv. 9, 10, 11.) And, in another place, [v. 16.] "If any man or woman that believeth have widows, let them relieve them, and let not the church be charged, that it may relieve them that are widows in deed." And to the same effect, or rather more to our present purpose, the apostle writes in his Second Epistle to the Thessalonians: [iii. 10..12.] "Even when we were with you, this we commanded you, that if any would not work, neither should he eat," *i. e.* at the public expense; "for we hear that there are some which walk among you disorderly, *working not at all*, but are busy-bodies: now them that are such, we command and exhort, by our Lord Jesus Christ, that with quietness they work, and eat their own bread." Could a designing or dissolute poor take advantage of bounty regulated with so much caution? or could the mind which dictated these sober and prudent directions be influenced in his recommendations of public charity by any other than the properest motives of beneficence?

[The calumny here noticed may probably be that of Is. Orobio, referred to by Dr. Benson in a valuable note, vol. i. p. 102, and to be found in Limborch's *Amica Collatio cum erudito Judeo*. Goudæ, 1687, p. 134, and the answer to it in p. 162.]

Whoever has access to that volume, will do well to read what is subjoined to its principal contents, *Urielis Acosta Exemplar Humanae Vitæ*, pp. 350, 351, for the account there given of the indignities which Acosta suffered in the Jewish synagogue at Amsterdam, and especially of the *forty stripes save one* literally inflicted on him.]

injunction could have no place. Would a person who lived under a hierarchy, such as the Christian hierarchy became when it had settled into a regular establishment, have thought it necessary to prescribe concerning the qualification of a bishop, "that he should be no striker?" And this injunction would be equally aliene from the imagination of the writer, whether he wrote in his own character, or personated that of an apostle.

No. IV.

Chap. v. 23. "Drink no longer water, but use a little wine for thy stomach's sake, and thine often infirmities."

Imagine an impostor sitting down to forge an epistle in the name of St. Paul. Is it credible that it should come into his head to give such a direction as this; so remote from every thing of doctrine or discipline, every thing of public concern to the religion or the church, or to any sect, order, or party in it, and from every purpose with which such an epistle could be written? It seems to me that nothing but reality, that is, the real valetudinary situation of a real person, could have suggested a thought of so domestic a nature.

But if the peculiarity of the advice be observable, the place in which it stands is more so. The context is this: "Lay hands suddenly on no man, neither be partaker of other men's sins; keep thyself pure; — drink no longer water, but use a little wine for thy stomach's sake, and thine often infirmities: — some men's sins are open before hand, going before to judgment; and some men they follow after." The direction to Timothy about his diet stands between two sentences, as wide from the subject as possible. The train of thought seems to be broken to let it in. Now when does this happen? It happens when a man writes as he remembers; when he puts down an article that occurs the moment it occurs, lest he should afterwards forget it. Of this the passage before us bears strongly the appearance.

In actual letters, in the negligence of a real correspondence, examples of this kind frequently take place ; seldom, I believe, in any other production. For the moment a man regards what he writes as a *composition*, which the author of a forgery would, of all others, be the first to do, notions of order, in the arrangement and succession of his thoughts, present themselves to his judgment, and guide his pen.

[Perhaps the secret link of associated thought may be discovered here. St. Paul, chap. iii. 3. 8, had prescribed one necessary qualification of a bishop, as of a deacon, that he be “not given to much wine.” When, therefore, at chap. v. 22, in reference to the same solemn task of ordaining, he had said to Timothy, “Lay hands suddenly on no man, neither be partaker of other men’s sins ; keep thyself pure ;” the idea of excluding persons “given to wine,” evidently strong in his mind, (Titus, i. 7.) and just then tacitly recurring, suggested also the peculiarity of Timothy’s own delicate health, for which a moderate use of wine was rather to be recommended than forbidden.

In performing that high office, “keep thyself pure ;” and yet, with all strictness towards others, in thine own case be not so severe. “Drink no longer water ; but use a little wine for thy stomach’s sake, and thine often infirmities.”]

No. V.

Chap. i. 15, 16. “This is a faithful saying, and “worthy of all acceptation, that Christ Jesus came into “the world to save sinners, of whom I am chief. How- “beit, for this cause I obtained mercy, that in me first “Jesus Christ might shew forth all long suffering, for a “pattern to them which should hereafter believe in him “to life everlasting.”

What was the mercy which St. Paul here commemorates, and what was the crime of which he accuses himself, is apparent from the verses immediately preceding : “I thank Christ Jesus our Lord, who hath enabled me, “for that he counted me faithful, putting me into the “ministry, *who was before a blasphemer, and a persecutor and injurious* ; but I obtained *mercy*, because I “did it ignorantly in unbelief.” (i. 12, 13.) The whole

quotation plainly refers to St. Paul's original enmity to the Christian name, the interposition of providence in his conversion, and his subsequent designation to the ministry of the gospel ; and by this reference affirms indeed the substance of the apostle's history delivered in the Acts. But what in the passage strikes my mind most powerfully, is the observation that is raised out of the fact : " For " this cause I obtained mercy, that in me first Jesus Christ " might shew forth all long suffering, for a pattern to " them which should hereafter believe on him to life ever- " lasting." It is a just and solemn reflection, springing from the circumstances of the author's conversion, or rather from the impression which that great event had left upon his memory. It will be said, perhaps, that an impostor, acquainted with St. Paul's history, may have put such a sentiment into his mouth ; or, what is the same thing, into a letter drawn up in his name. But where, we may ask, is such an impostor to be found ? The piety, the truth, the benevolence of the thought ought to protect it from this imputation. For, though we should allow that one of the great masters of the ancient tragedy could have given to his scene a sentiment as virtuous and as elevated as this is, and, at the same time, as appropriate, and as well suited to the particular situation of the person who delivers it ; yet whoever is conversant in these enquiries will acknowledge, that to do this in a fictitious production is beyond the reach of the understandings which have been employed upon any *fabrications* that have come down to us under Christian names.

CHAP. XII.

THE SECOND EPISTLE TO TIMOTHY.

No. I.

It was the uniform tradition of the primitive church, that St. Paul visited Rome twice, and twice there suffered imprisonment; and that he was put to death at Rome at the conclusion of his second imprisonment. This opinion concerning St. Paul's *two* journeys to Rome, is confirmed by a great variety of hints and allusions in the epistle before us, compared with what fell from the apostle's pen in other letters purporting to have been written from Rome. That our present epistle was written whilst St. Paul was a *prisoner*, is distinctly intimated by the eighth verse of the first chapter: "Be not thou therefore ashamed of the testimony of our Lord, nor of me his prisoner:" and whilst he was a prisoner *at Rome*, by the sixteenth and seventeenth verses of the same chapter: "The Lord give mercy unto the house of Onesiphorus; for he oft refreshed me, and was not ashamed of my chain: but when he was in Rome he sought me out very diligently, and found me." Since it appears from the former quotation that St. Paul wrote this epistle in confinement, it will hardly admit of doubt that the word *chain*, in the latter quotation, refers to that confinement; the chain by which he was *then* bound, the custody in which he was then kept. And if the word chain designate the author's confinement at the time of writing the epistle, the next words determine it to have been written from Rome: "He was not ashamed of my chain; but when he was in Rome he sought me out very diligently." Now that it was not written during the apostle's first imprisonment at Rome, or during the same imprisonment in which the epistles to the Ephesians, the Colossians,

the Philippians, and Philemon, were written, may be gathered, with considerable evidence, from a comparison of these several epistles with the present.

i. In the former epistles the author confidently looked forward to his liberation from confinement, and his speedy departure from Rome. He tells the Philippians, (ii. 24.) "I trust in the Lord that I also myself shall come shortly." Philemon he bids to prepare for him a lodging; "for I trust," says he, "that through your prayers I shall be given unto you." (v. 22.) In the epistle before us he holds a language extremely different: "I am now ready to be offered, and the time of my departure is at hand. I have fought a good fight; I have finished my course; I have kept the faith: henceforth there is laid up for me a crown of righteousness, which the Lord, the righteous judge, shall give me at that day." (iv. 6—8.)

ii. When the former epistles were written from Rome, Timothy was with St. Paul; and is joined with him in writing to the Colossians, the Philippians, and to Philemon. The present epistle implies that he was absent.

iii. In the former epistles Demas was with St. Paul at Rome: "Luke the beloved physician, and Demas, greet you." In the epistle now before us: "Demas hath forsaken me, having loved this present world, and is departed unto Thessalonica."

iv. In the former epistles, Mark was with St. Paul, and joins in saluting the Colossians. In the present epistle, Timothy is ordered to "bring him with him, for he is profitable to me for the ministry." (iv. 11.)

The case of Timothy and of Mark might be very well accounted for, by supposing the present epistle to have been written *before* the others; so that Timothy, who is here exhorted "to come shortly unto him," (iv. 9.) might have arrived, and that Mark, "whom he was to bring with him," (iv. 11.) might have also reached Rome in sufficient time to have been with St. Paul when the four epistles were written: but then such a supposition is inconsistent with what is said of Demas, by which the posteriority of this to the other epistles is strongly indicated; for in the other epistles Demas was with St. Paul, in the

present he hath “forsaken him, and is gone to Thessa-
“lonica.” The opposition also of sentiment, with respect
to the event of the persecution, is hardly reconcileable to
the same imprisonment.

The two following considerations, which were first sug-
gested upon this question by Ludovicus Cappellus, are still
more conclusive.

1. In the twentieth verse of the fourth chapter, St. Paul
informs Timothy “that Erastus abode at Corinth,” *Ἐρα-
τος ἔμεινεν ἐν Κορίνθῳ*. The form of expression implies,
that Erastus had staid behind at Corinth, when St. Paul
left it. But this could not be meant of any journey from
Corinth, which St. Paul took prior to his first imprison-
ment at Rome; for when Paul departed from Corinth,
as related in the twentieth chapter of the Acts, Timothy
was with him: and this was the last time the apostle left
Corinth before his coming to Rome; because he left it
to proceed on his way to Jerusalem, soon after his arrival
at which place he was taken into custody, and continued
in that custody till he was carried to Cæsar’s tribunal.
There could be no need therefore to inform Timothy that
“Erastus staid behind at Corinth” upon this occasion,
because, if the fact was so, it must have been known to
Timothy, who was present, as well as to St. Paul. [Ap-
pend. ad Hist. Apostol. pp. 30, 31.]

2. In the same verse our epistle also states the follow-
ing article: “Trophimus have I left at Miletum sick.”
When St. Paul passed through Miletum on his way to
Jerusalem, as related Acts, xx. [4. 15.], Trophimus was
not left behind, but accompanied him to that city. He
was indeed the occasion of the uproar at Jerusalem, in
consequence of which St. Paul was apprehended; for “they
“had seen,” says the historian, “before with him in the
“city, Trophimus an Ephesian, whom they supposed that
“Paul had brought into the temple.” [xxi. 29.] This
was evidently the last time of Paul’s being at Miletus be-
fore his first imprisonment; for, as hath been said, after
his apprehension at Jerusalem, he remained in custody till
he was sent to Rome.

In these two articles we have a journey referred to,

which must have taken place subsequent to the conclusion of St. Luke's history, and of course after St. Paul's liberation from his first imprisonment. The epistle therefore, which contains this reference, since it appears from other parts of it to have been written whilst St. Paul was a prisoner at Rome, proves that he had returned to that city again, and undergone there a second imprisonment.

I do not produce these particulars for the sake of the support which they lend to the testimony of the fathers concerning St. Paul's *second* imprisonment, but to remark their consistency and agreement with one another. They are all resolvable into one supposition: and although the supposition itself be in some sort only negative, viz. that the epistle was not written during St. Paul's first residence at Rome, but in some future imprisonment in that city, yet is the consistency not less worthy of observation; for the epistle touches upon names and circumstances connected with the date and with the history of the first imprisonment, and mentioned in letters written during that imprisonment, and so touches upon them, as to leave what is said of one consistent with what is said of others, and consistent also with what is said of them in different epistles. Had one of these circumstances been so described, as to have fixed the date of the epistle to the first imprisonment, it would have involved the rest in contradiction. And when the number and particularity of the articles which have been brought together under this head are considered; and when it is considered also, that the comparisons we have formed amongst them, were in all probability neither provided for, nor thought of, by the writer of the epistle, it will be deemed something very like the effect of truth, that no invincible repugnancy is perceived between them.

No. II.

In the Acts of the Apostles, in the sixteenth chapter and at the first verse, we are told that Paul “came to Derbe and Lystra; and behold a certain disciple was there named Timotheus, the son of a certain woman which was a Jewess, and believed; but his father was a Greek.” In the epistle before us, in the first chapter and at the fifth verse, St. Paul writes to Timothy thus: “Greatly desiring to see thee, being mindful of thy tears, that I may be filled with joy, when I call to remembrance the unfeigned faith that is in thee, which dwelt first in thy grandmother Lois, *and thy mother Eunice*; and I am persuaded that in thee also.” Here we have a fair unforced example of coincidence. In the history Timothy was the “son of a Jewess *that believed*,” in the epistle St. Paul applauds “the *faith* which dwelt in his mother Eunice.” In the history it is said of the mother, “that she was a Jewess, and believed;” of the father, “that he was a Greek.” Now when it is said of the mother *alone*, “that she believed,” the father being nevertheless mentioned in the same sentence, we are led to suppose of the father, that he did not believe, *i. e.* either that he was dead, or that he remained unconverted. Agreeably hereunto, whilst praise is bestowed in the epistle upon one parent, and upon her sincerity in the faith, no notice is taken of the other. The mention of the grandmother is the addition of a circumstance not found in the history: but it is a circumstance which, as well as the names of the parties, might naturally be expected to be known to the apostle, though overlooked by his historian.

No. III.

Chap. iii. 15. “And that from a child thou hast known the holy scriptures, which are able to make thee wise unto salvation.”

This verse discloses a circumstance which agrees ex-

actly with what is intimated in the quotation from the Acts, adduced in the last number. In that quotation it is recorded of Timothy's mother, "that she was a Jewess." This description is virtually, though, I am satisfied, undesignedly, recognised in the epistle, when Timothy is reminded in it, "that from a child he had known the " holy scriptures." " The holy scriptures" undoubtedly meant the scriptures of the Old Testament. The expression bears that sense in every place in which it occurs. Those of the New had not yet acquired the name, not to mention, that in Timothy's childhood, probably none of them existed. In what manner, then, could Timothy have known "from a child" the Jewish scriptures, had he not been born, on one side or on both, of Jewish parentage? Perhaps he was not less likely to be carefully instructed in them, for that his mother alone professed that religion.

No. IV.

Chap. ii. 22. "Flee also *youthful* lusts; but follow " righteousness, faith, charity, peace, with them that call " on the Lord out of a pure heart."

"*Flee also youthful lusts.*" The suitableness of this precept to the age of the person to whom it is addressed, is gathered from 1 Tim. iv. 12: "Let no man despise " thy *youth.*" Nor do I deem the less of this coincidence, because the propriety resides in a single epithet; or because this one precept is joined with, and followed by, a train of others, not more applicable to Timothy than to any ordinary convert. It is in these transient and cursory allusions that the argument is best founded. When a writer dwells and rests upon a point in which some coincidence is discerned, it may be doubted whether he himself had not fabricated the conformity, and was endeavouring to display and set it off. But when the reference is contained in a single word, unobserved perhaps by most readers, the writer passing on to other subjects, as unconscious that he had hit upon a correspondency, or unso-

licitous whether it were remarked or not, we may be pretty well assured that no fraud was exercised, no imposition intended.

No. V.

Chap. iii. 10, 11. “ But thou hast fully known my
 “ doctrine, manner of life, purpose, faith, long-suffering,
 “ charity, patience, persecutions, afflictions, which came
 “ unto me *at Antioch, at Iconium, at Lystra*; what
 “ persecutions I endured : but out of them all the Lord
 “ delivered me.”

The Antioch here mentioned was not Antioch the capital of Syria, where Paul and Barnabas resided “ a long
 “ time ;” but Antioch in Pisidia, to which place Paul and
 Barnabas came in their first apostolic progress, and where
 Paul delivered a memorable discourse, which is preserved
 in the thirteenth chapter of the Acts. At this Antioch
 the history relates, that “ the Jews stirred up the devout
 “ and honourable women, and the chief men of the city,
 “ *and raised persecution against Paul and Barnabas,*
 “ and expelled them out of their coasts. But they shook
 “ off the dust of their feet against them, and came unto
 “ *Iconium.* [xiii. 50, 51.] And it came to pass in Iconium,
 “ that they went both together into the synagogue of the
 “ Jews, and so spake that a great multitude both of the
 “ Jews and also of the Greeks believed ; but the unbe-
 “ lieving Jews stirred up the Gentiles, and made their
 “ minds evil-affected against the brethren. Long time
 “ therefore abode they speaking boldly in the Lord, which
 “ gave testimony unto the word of his grace, and granted
 “ signs and wonders to be done by their hands. But the
 “ multitude of the city was divided ; and part held with
 “ the Jews, and part with the apostles. And when there
 “ was an assault made both of the Gentiles and also of
 “ the Jews, with their rulers, *to use them despitefully and*
 “ *to stone* them, they were ware of it, and fled unto
 “ *Lystra* and Derbe, cities of Lycaonia, and unto the
 “ region that lieth round about, and there they preached

“ the gospel. [xiv. 1..7.] And there came thither certain Jews from Antioch and Iconium, who persuaded the people, and having stoned Paul, drew him out of the city, supposing he had been dead. Howbeit, as the disciples stood round about him, he rose up and came into the city; and the next day he departed with Barnabas to Derbe: and when they had preached the gospel in that city, and had taught many, they returned again to Lystra, and to Iconium and Antioch.” [19..21.] This account comprises the period to which the allusion in the epistle is to be referred. We have so far, therefore, a conformity between the history and the epistle, that St. Paul is asserted in the history to have suffered persecutions in the three cities, his persecutions at which are appealed to in the epistle; and not only so, but to have suffered these persecutions both in immediate succession, and in the order in which the cities are mentioned in the epistle. The conformity also extends to another circumstance. In the apostolic history Lystra and Derbe are commonly mentioned together: in the quotation from the epistle Lystra is mentioned, and not Derbe. And the distinction will appear on this occasion to be accurate; for St. Paul is here enumerating his persecutions: and although he underwent grievous persecutions in each of the three cities through which he passed to Derbe, at Derbe itself he met with none: “ The next day he departed,” says the historian, “ to Derbe; and when they had preached the gospel to that city, and had taught many, they returned again to Lystra.” [xiv. 21.] The epistle, therefore, in the names of the cities, in the order in which they are enumerated, and in the place at which the enumeration stops, corresponds exactly with the history.

But a second question remains, namely, how these persecutions were “ known ” to Timothy, or why the apostle should recall these in particular to his remembrance, rather than many other persecutions with which his ministry had been attended. When some time, probably three years, afterwards (*vide* Pearson’s *Annales Paulini*, pp. 7. 10.), St. Paul made a second journey through the same country, “ in order to go again and

“ visit the brethren in every city where he had preached “ the word of the Lord,” we read, Acts xvi. 1, that, “ when he came to Derbe and Lystra, behold a certain “ disciple was there named Timotheus.” One or other therefore of these cities was the place of Timothy’s abode. We read moreover that he was well reported of by the brethren that were at Lystra and Iconium ; so that he must have been well acquainted with these places. Also, again, when Paul came to Derbe and Lystra, Timothy was already a disciple : “ Behold a certain disciple was “ there named Timotheus.” He must, therefore, have been converted *before*. But since it is expressly stated in the epistle, that Timothy was converted by St. Paul himself, that he was [1 Tim. i. 2.] “ his own son in the “ faith ;” it follows that he must have been converted by him upon his former journey into those parts ; which was the very time when the apostle underwent the persecutions referred to in the epistle. Upon the whole, then, persecutions at the several cities named in the epistle are expressly recorded in the Acts ; and Timothy’s knowledge of this part of St. Paul’s history, which knowledge is appealed to in the epistle, is fairly deduced from the place of his abode, and the time of his conversion. [A. xiv. 6, 7.] It may farther be observed, that it is probable from this account, that St. Paul was in the midst of these persecutions when Timothy became known to him. No wonder then that the apostle, though in a letter written long afterwards, should remind his favourite convert of those scenes of affliction and distress under which they first met.

Although this coincidence, as to the names of the cities, be more specific and direct than many which we have pointed out, yet I apprehend there is no just reason for thinking it to be artificial ; for had the writer of the epistle sought a coincidence with the history upon this head, and searched the Acts of the Apostles for the purpose, I conceive he would have sent us at once to Philippi and Thessalonica, [A. xvi. 12. xvii. 1.] where Paul suffered persecution, and where, from what is stated, it may easily be gathered that Timothy accompanied him, rather than

have appealed to persecutions as known to Timothy, in the account of which persecutions Timothy's presence is not mentioned ; it not being till after one entire chapter, and in the history of a journey three years future to this, that Timothy's name occurs in the Acts of the Apostles for the first time.

CHAP. XIII.

THE EPISTLE TO TITUS.

No. I.

A VERY characteristic circumstance in this epistle, is the quotation from Epimenides, i. 12 : “ One of themselves, even a prophet of their own, said, ‘ The Cretans are ‘ always liars, evil beasts, slow bellies.’ ”

Κρήτες ἀεὶ ψεύσται, κακὰ θηρία, γαστέρες ἀργαί.

I call this quotation characteristic, because no writer in the New Testament, except St. Paul, appealed to heathen testimony ; and because St. Paul repeatedly did so. In his celebrated speech at Athens, preserved in the seventeenth chapter [v. 28.] of the Acts, he tells his audience, that “ in God we live, and move, and have our being ; as certain also of your own poets have said, ‘ For we are “ also his offspring.’ ”

— τοῦ γὰρ καὶ γένος ἐσμὲν.

The reader will perceive much similarity of manner in these two passages. The reference in the speech is to a heathen poet ; it is the same in the epistle. In the speech the apostle urges his hearers with the authority of a poet *of their own* ; in the epistle he avails himself of the same advantage. Yet there is a variation, which shows that the hint of inserting a quotation in the epistle was not, as

it may be suspected, borrowed from seeing the like practice attributed to St. Paul in the history ; and it is this, that in the epistle the author cited is called a *prophet*, “ one of themselves, even a *prophet* of their own.” Whatever might be the reason for calling Epimenides a prophet ; whether the names of poet and prophet were occasionally convertible ; whether Epimenides in particular had obtained that title *, as Grotius seems to have proved, or whether the appellation was given to him, in this instance, as having delivered a description of the Cretan character, which the future state of morals amongst them verified ; whatever was the reason (and any of these reasons will account for the variation, supposing St. Paul to have been the author), one point is plain, namely, if the epistle had been forged, and the author had inserted a quotation in it merely from having seen an example of the same kind in a speech ascribed to St. Paul, he would so far have imitated his original, as to have introduced his quotation in the same manner, that is, he would have given to Epimenides the title which he saw there given to Aratus. The other side of the alternative is, that the history took the hint from the epistle. But that the author of the Acts of the Apostles had not the epistle to Titus before him, at least that he did not use it as one of the documents or materials of his narrative, is rendered nearly certain by the observation that the name of Titus does not once occur in his book.

It is well known, and was remarked by St. Jerome, that the apophthegm in the fifteenth chapter of the Corinthians, “ Evil communications corrupt good manners,” is an Iambic of Menander’s : [1 Cor. xv. 33.]

Φθείρουσιν ἡθὴ χρηστὸν ὁμιλῶν κακὰ.

Here we have another unaffected instance of the same turn and habit of composition. Probably there are some hitherto unnoticed ; and more, which the loss of the original authors renders impossible to be now ascertained.

* [Tully, in the person of his brother Quintus, Divin. i. 18, distinctly mentions Epimenides the Cretan as one of the *vaticinantes* so deemed, who had the gift of divination.]

No. II.

There exists a visible affinity between the Epistle to Titus and the First Epistle to Timothy. Both letters were addressed to persons left by the writer to preside in their respective churches during his absence. Both letters are principally occupied in describing the qualifications to be sought for, in those whom they should appoint to offices in the church; and the ingredients of this description are in both letters nearly the same. Timothy and Titus are likewise cautioned against the same prevailing corruptions, and, in particular, against the same misdirection of their cares and studies. This affinity obtains, not only in the subject of the letters, which, from the similarity of situation in the persons to whom they were addressed, might be expected to be somewhat alike, but extends, in a great variety of instances, to the phrases and expressions. The writer accosts his two friends with the same salutation, and passes on to the business of his letter by the same transition.

“Unto Timothy, *my own son in the faith*, grace, “mercy, and peace from God our Father, and Jesus “Christ our Lord: *as I besought thee to abide still at “Ephesus when I went into Macedonia,*” &c. 1 Tim. i. 2, 3.

“To Titus, *mine own son after the common faith*, “grace, mercy, and peace from God the Father, and the “Lord Jesus Christ our Saviour: *for this cause left I “thee in Crete.*” Tit. i. 4, 5.

If Timothy was “not to *give heed to fables* and endless “*genealogies*, which minister *questions*,” 1 Tim. i. 4; “Titus also was to avoid foolish *questions*, and *genealogies*, and contentions;” (iii. 9.) “and was to rebuke “them sharply, *not giving heed to Jewish fables.*” (i. 14.) If Timothy was to be a pattern (τύπος), 1 Tim. iv. 12; so was Titus. (ii. 7.) If Timothy was to “let no “man despise his youth,” 1 Tim. iv. 12; Titus also was to “let no man despise him.” (ii. 15.) This verbal consent is also observable in some very peculiar expressions,

which have no relation to the particular character of Timothy or Titus.

The phrase "it is a faithful saying" (πιστὸς ὁ λόγος), made use of to preface some sentence upon which the writer lays a more than ordinary stress, occurs three times in the First Epistle to Timothy, once in the Second, and once in the epistle before us, and in no other part of St. Paul's writings: and it is remarkable that these three epistles were probably all written towards the conclusion of his life; and that they are the only epistles which were written after his first imprisonment at Rome.

The same observation belongs to another singularity of expression, and that is in the epithet "*sound*" (ὕγιαίνων), as applied to words or doctrine. It is thus used, twice in the First Epistle to Timothy, twice in the Second, and three times in the Epistle to Titus, beside two cognate expressions ὑγιαίνοντας τῇ πίστει and λόγον ὑγιῆ, and it is found, in the same sense, in no other part of the New Testament.

The phrase "God our Saviour" stands in nearly the same predicament. It is repeated three times in the First Epistle to Timothy, as many in the Epistle to Titus, and in no other book of the New Testament occurs at all, except once in the Epistle of Jude.

Similar terms, intermixed indeed with others, are employed, in the two epistles, in enumerating the qualifications required in those, who should be advanced to stations of authority in the church.

"A bishop must be blameless, *the husband of one wife*, vigilant, *sober*, of good behaviour, *given to hospitality*, apt to teach, *not given to wine, no striker, not greedy of filthy lucre*; but patient, not a brawler, not covetous, one that ruleth well his own house, having his children in subjection with all gravity."* 1 Tim. iii. 2—4.

"If any be *blameless, the husband of one wife*, having

* "Δεῖ οὖν τὸν ἐπίσκοπον ἀνεπίληπτον εἶναι, μιᾶς γυναικὸς ἄνδρα, νηφάλιον, σώφρονα, κόσμιον, φιλόξενον, διδακτικόν, μὴ πάροινον, μὴ πλήκτην, μὴ αἰσχροκερδῆ ἀλλ' ἐπιεικῆ, ἁμαχον, ἀφιλάργυρον: τοῦ ἑαυτοῦ οἴκου καλῶς προϊστάμενον, τέκνα ἔχοντα ἐν ὑποταγῇ μετὰ πάσης σεμνότητος."

“ faithful children, not accused of riot, or unruly ; for a bishop must be blameless, as the steward of God, not self-willed, not soon angry, *not given to wine, no striker, not given to filthy lucre, but a lover of hospitality, a lover of good men, sober, just, holy, temperate.*” * Titus, i. 6—8.

The most natural account which can be given of these resemblances, is to suppose that the two epistles were written nearly at the same time, and whilst the same ideas and phrases dwelt in the writer’s mind. Let us inquire, therefore, whether the notes of time, extant in the two epistles, in any manner favour this supposition.

We have seen that it was necessary to refer the First Epistle to Timothy to a date subsequent to St. Paul’s first imprisonment at Rome, because there was no journey into Macedonia prior to that event, which accorded with the circumstance of leaving “ Timothy behind at Ephesus.” The journey of St. Paul from Crete, alluded to in the epistle before us, and in which Titus [i. 5.] “ was left “ in Crete to set in order the things that were wanting,” must, in like manner, be carried to the period which intervened between his first and second imprisonment. For the history, which reaches, we know, to the time of St. Paul’s first imprisonment, contains no account of his going to Crete, except upon his voyage as a prisoner to Rome ; and that this could not be the occasion referred to in our epistle is evident from hence, that when St. Paul wrote this epistle, he appears to have been at liberty ; whereas, after that voyage, he continued for two years at least, in confinement. Again, it is agreed that St. Paul wrote his First Epistle to Timothy from Macedonia : [i. 3.] “ As “ I besought thee to abide still at Ephesus, when I went “ (or came) into Macedonia.” And that he was in these parts, *i. e.* in this peninsula, when he wrote the Epistle to Titus, is rendered probable by his directing Titus [iii. 12.]

* “ Εἰ τις ἐστὶν ἀνέγκλητος, μιᾶς γυναικὸς ἀνὴρ, τέκνα ἔχων πιστά, μὴ ἐν κατηγορίᾳ ἀσωτίας, ἢ ἀνυπότακτα. Δεῖ γὰρ τὸν ἐπίσκοπον ἀνέγκλητον εἶναι, ὡς Θεοῦ οἰκονόμου, μὴ αὐθάδη, μὴ ὀργίλον, μὴ πάροινον, μὴ πλήκτην, μὴ αἰσχροκερδῆ· ἀλλὰ φιλόξενον, φιλάγαθον, σώφρονα, δίκαιον, ἕσιον, ἐγκρατῆ.”

to come to him to Nicopolis : “ When I shall send Artemas unto thee or Tychicus, be diligent (make haste) to come unto me to Nicopolis ; for I have determined there to winter.” The most noted city of that name was in Epirus, near to Actium. And I think the form of speaking, as well as the nature of the case, renders it probable, that the writer was at Nicopolis, or in the neighbourhood thereof [or on his journey towards that city], when he dictated this direction to Titus.

Upon the whole, if we may be allowed to suppose that St. Paul, after his liberation at Rome, sailed into Asia, taking Crete in his way ; that from Asia and from Ephesus, the capital of that country, he proceeded into Macedonia, and crossing the peninsula in his progress, came into the neighbourhood of Nicopolis ; we have a route which falls in with every thing. It executes the intention expressed by the apostle of visiting Colosse and Philippi as soon as he should be set at liberty at Rome. It allows him to leave “ Titus in Crete,” and “ Timothy at Ephesus, as he went into Macedonia ;” and to write to both not long after from the peninsula of Greece, and probably the neighbourhood of Nicopolis : thus bringing together the dates of these two letters, and thereby accounting for that affinity between them, both in subject and language, which our remarks have pointed out. I confess that the journey, which we have thus traced out for St. Paul, is, in a great measure, hypothetic ; but it should be observed, that it is a species of consistency, which seldom belongs to falsehood, to admit of an hypothesis, which includes a great number of independent circumstances without contradiction.

CHAP. XIV.

THE EPISTLE TO PHILEMON.

No. I.

THE singular correspondence between this epistle and that to the Colossians [No. IV.] has been remarked already. An assertion in the Epistle to the Colossians, viz. that "Onesimus was one of them," is verified by the Epistle to Philemon; and is verified, not by any mention of Colosse, any the most distant intimation concerning the place of Philemon's abode, but singly by stating Onesimus to be Philemon's servant, and by joining in the salutation Philemon with Archippus; for this Archippus, when we go back to the Epistle to the Colossians, appears to have been an inhabitant of that city, and, as it should seem, to have held an office of authority in that church. The case stands thus. Take the Epistle to the Colossians alone, and no circumstance is discoverable which makes out the assertion, that Onesimus was "one of them." Take the Epistle to Philemon alone, and nothing at all appears concerning the place to which Philemon or his servant Onesimus belonged. For any thing that is said in the epistle, Philemon might have been a Thessalonian, a Philippian, or an Ephesian, as well as a Colossian. Put the two epistles together, and the matter is clear. The reader perceives a *junction* of circumstances, which ascertains the conclusion at once. Now, all that is necessary to be added in this place is, that this correspondence evinces the genuineness of one epistle, as well as of the other. It is like comparing the two parts of a cloven tally. Coincidence proves the authenticity of both.

No. II.

And this coincidence is perfect ; not only in the main article of showing, by implication, Onesimus to be a Colossian, but in many dependent circumstances.

1. " I beseech thee for my son Onesimus, whom *I have sent again.*" (10—12.) It appears from the Epistle to the Colossians, that, in truth, Onesimus was sent at that time to Colosse : " All my state shall Tychicus declare, whom I have sent unto you for the same purpose, *with Onesimus* a faithful and beloved brother." Colos. iv. 7—9.

2. " I beseech thee for my son Onesimus, *whom I have begotten in my bonds.*" (10.) It appears from the preceding quotation, that Onesimus was with St. Paul when he wrote the Epistle to the Colossians ; and that he wrote that epistle *in imprisonment* is evident from his declaration in the fourth chapter and third verse : " Praying also for us, that God would open unto us a door of utterance, to speak the mystery of Christ, for which I am also *in bonds.*"

3. St. Paul bids Philemon prepare for him a lodging : " For I trust," says he, " that through your prayers, I shall be given unto you." This agrees with the expectation of speedy deliverance, which he expressed in another epistle written during the same imprisonment : " Him (Timothy) I hope to send presently, so soon as I shall see how it will go with me ; *but I trust in the Lord that I also myself shall come shortly.*" Philip. ii. 23, 24.

4. As the letter to Philemon, and that to the Colossians, were written at the same time, and sent by the same messenger, the one to a particular inhabitant, the other to the church of Colosse, it may be expected that the same, or nearly the same, persons would be about St. Paul, and join with him, as was the practice, in the salutations of the epistle. Accordingly we find the names of Aristarchus, Marcus, Epaphras, Luke, and Demas, in both epistles. Timothy, who is joined with St. Paul in

the superscription of the Epistle to the Colossians is joined with him in this. Tychicus did not salute Philemon, because he accompanied the Epistle to Colosse, and would undoubtedly there see him. Yet the reader of the Epistle to Philemon will remark one considerable diversity in the catalogue of saluting friends, and which shows that the catalogue was not copied from that to the Colossians. In the Epistle to the Colossians, Aristarchus is called by St. Paul his fellow-prisoner, Colos. iv. 10 ; in the Epistle to Philemon, Aristarchus is mentioned without any addition, and the title of fellow-prisoner is given to Epaphras.*

And let it also be observed, that notwithstanding the close and circumstantial agreement between the two epistles, this is not the case of an opening left in a genuine writing, which an impostor is induced to fill up ; nor of a reference to some writing not extant, which sets a sophist at work to supply the loss, in like manner as, because St. Paul was supposed, Colos. iv. 16, to allude to an epistle written by him to the Laodiceans, some person has from thence taken the hint of uttering a forgery under that title. The present, I say, is not that case ; for Philemon's name is not mentioned in the Epistle to the Colossians ; Onesimus's servile condition is no where hinted at, any more than his crime, his flight, or the place or time of his conversion. The story, therefore, of the epistle, if it be a fiction, is a fiction to which the author could not have been guided by any thing he had read in St. Paul's genuine writings.

* Dr. Benson observes, and perhaps truly, that the appellation of fellow-prisoner, as applied by St. Paul to Epaphras, did not imply that they were imprisoned together *at the time* ; any more than your calling a person your fellow-traveller imports that you are then upon your travels. If he had, upon any former occasion, travelled with you, you might afterwards speak of him under that title. It is just so with the term fellow-prisoner.

No. III.

Vv. 4, 5. "I thank my God, making mention of thee always in my prayers; hearing of thy love and faith, which thou hast toward the Lord Jesus, and toward all saints."

"*Hearing of thy love and faith.*" This is the form of speech which St. Paul was wont to use towards those churches which he had not seen, or then visited: see Rom. i. 8; Ephes. i. 15; Col. i. 3, 4. Toward those churches and persons, with whom he was previously acquainted, he employed a different phrase: as, "I thank my God always on your behalf," 1 Cor. i. 4; 2 Thess. i. 3; or, "upon every *remembrance* of you," Phil. i. 3; 1 Thess. i. 2, 3; 2 Tim. i. 3; and never speaks of *hearing of them*. Yet I think it must be concluded, from the nineteenth verse of this epistle, that Philemon had been converted by St. Paul himself: "Albeit, I do not say to thee, how *thou owest unto me* even thine own self besides." Here then is a peculiarity. Let us enquire whether the epistle supplies any circumstance which will account for it. We have seen that it may be made out, not from the epistle itself, but from a comparison of the epistle with that to the Colossians, that Philemon was an inhabitant of Colosse; and it farther appears, from the Epistle to the Colossians, that St. Paul had never been in that city: "I would that ye knew what great conflict I have for you and for them at Laodicea, and for as many as have not seen my face in the flesh." Col. ii. 1. Although, therefore, St. Paul had formerly met with Philemon at some other place, and had been the immediate instrument of his conversion, yet Philemon's faith and conduct afterwards, inasmuch as he lived in a city which St. Paul had never visited, could only be known to him by fame and reputation.

No. IV.

The tenderness and delicacy of this epistle have been long admired : “ Though I might be much bold in Christ “ to enjoin thee that which is convenient, yet for love’s sake “ I rather beseech thee, being such a one as Paul the “ aged, and now also a prisoner of Jesus Christ. I beseech thee for my son Onesimus, whom I have begotten “ in my bonds.” There is something certainly very melting and persuasive in this and every part of the epistle. Yet, in my opinion, the character of St. Paul prevails in it throughout. The warm, affectionate, authoritative teacher is interceding with an absent friend for a beloved convert. He urges his suit with an earnestness, befitting perhaps not so much the occasion, as the ardour and sensibility of his own mind. Here also, as every where, he shows himself conscious of the weight and dignity of his mission ; nor does he suffer Philemon for a moment to forget it : “ I *might* be much bold in Christ to enjoin “ thee that which is convenient.” He is careful also to recall, though obliquely, to Philemon’s memory, the sacred obligation under which he had laid him, by bringing to him the knowledge of Jesus Christ : “ I do not say to “ thee, how thou owest to me even thine own self besides.” Without laying aside, therefore, the apostolic character, our author softens the imperative style of his address, by mixing with it every sentiment and consideration that could move the heart of his correspondent. Aged and in prison, he is content to supplicate and entreat. Onesimus was rendered dear to him by his conversion and his services ; the child of his affliction, and “ ministering unto “ him in the bonds of the gospel.” This ought to recommend him, whatever had been his fault, to Philemon’s forgiveness : “ Receive him as myself, as my own bowels.” Every thing, however, should be voluntary. St. Paul was determined that Philemon’s compliance should flow from his own bounty : “ Without thy mind “ would I do nothing, that thy benefit should not be as it “ were of necessity, but willingly : ” trusting nevertheless

to his gratitude and attachment for the performance of all that he requested, and for more: "Having confidence in thy obedience, I wrote unto thee, knowing that thou wilt also do more than I say."

St. Paul's discourse at Miletus [A. xx. 18 . . .]; his speech before Agrippa [xxvi. 1 . . .]; his Epistle to the Romans, as hath been remarked (No. VIII.); that to the Galatians, iv. 11—20; to the Philippians, i. 29. ii. 2; the Second to the Corinthians, vi. 1—13; and indeed some part or other of almost every epistle, exhibits examples of a similar application to the feelings and affections of the persons whom he addresses. And it is observable, that these pathetic effusions, drawn for the most part from his own sufferings and situation, usually precede a command, soften a rebuke, or mitigate the harshness of some disagreeable truth.

CHAP. XV.

THE SUBSCRIPTIONS OF THE EPISTLES.

Six of these *subscriptions* are false or improbable; that is, they are either absolutely contradicted by the contents of the epistle, or are difficult to be reconciled with them.

I. The subscription of the First Epistle to the Corinthians states that it was written from Philippi, notwithstanding that, in the sixteenth chapter and the eighth verse of the epistle, St. Paul informs the Corinthians, that he will "tarry at Ephesus until Pentecost;" and notwithstanding that he begins the salutations in the epistle, by telling them "the churches of Asia salute you;" a pretty evident indication that he himself was in Asia at this time.

II. The Epistle to the Galatians is by the subscription dated from Rome; yet, in the epistle itself, [i. 6.] St. Paul expresses his surprise "that they were *so soon*

“ removed from him that called them ;” whereas his journey to Rome was ten years posterior to the conversion of the Galatians. And what, I think, is more conclusive, the author, though speaking of himself in this more than any other epistle, does not once mention his bonds, or call himself a prisoner ; which he has not failed to do in every one of the four epistles written from that city, and during that imprisonment.

III. The First Epistle to the Thessalonians was written, the subscription tells us, from Athens ; yet the epistle refers expressly to the coming of Timotheus from Thessalonica (iii. 6.) ; and the history informs us, Acts, xviii. 5, that Timothy came out of Macedonia to St. Paul at *Corinth*.

IV. The Second Epistle to the Thessalonians is dated, and without any discoverable reason, from Athens also. If it be truly the *second* ; if it refer, as it appears to do (ii. 2.), to the first, and the first was written from Corinth, the place must be erroneously assigned, for the history does not allow us to suppose that St. Paul, after he had reached Corinth, went back to Athens.

V. The First Epistle to Timothy the subscription asserts to have been sent from Laodicea ; yet, when St. Paul writes, [i. 3.] “ I besought thee to abide still at “ Ephesus, *πορευόμενος εἰς Μακεδονίαν* (when I set out “ for Macedonia),” the reader is naturally led to conclude, that he wrote the letter upon his arrival in that country.

VI. The Epistle to Titus is dated from Nicopolis in Macedonia, whilst no city of that name is known to have existed in that province.

The use, and the only use, which I make of these observations, is to show how easily errors and contradictions steal in where the writer is not guided by original knowledge. There are only eleven distinct assignments of date to St. Paul’s epistles (for the four written from Rome may be considered as plainly cotemporary) ; and of these, six seem to be erroneous. I do not attribute any authority to these subscriptions. I believe them to have been conjectures founded sometimes upon loose traditions, but more

generally upon a consideration of some particular text, without sufficiently comparing it with other parts of the epistle, with different epistles, or with the history. Suppose then that the subscriptions had come down to us as authentic parts of the epistles, there would have been more contrarieties and difficulties arising out of these final verses, than from all the rest of the volume. Yet, if the epistles had been forged, the whole must have been made up of the same elements as those of which the subscriptions are composed, viz. tradition, conjecture, and inference : and it would have remained to be accounted for, how, whilst so many errors were crowded into the concluding clauses of the letters, so much consistency should be preserved in other parts.

The same reflection arises from observing the oversights and mistakes which learned men have committed, when arguing upon allusions which relate to time and place, or when endeavouring to digest scattered circumstances into a continued story. It is indeed the same case ; for these subscriptions must be regarded as ancient scholia, and as nothing more. Of this liability to error I can present the reader with a notable instance ; and which I bring forward for no other purpose than that to which I apply the erroneous subscriptions. Ludovicus Cappellus, in that part of his *Historia Apostolica Illustrata*, which is entitled *De Ordine Epist. Paul.*, writing [p. 73.] upon the Second Epistle to the Corinthians, triumphs unmercifully over the want of sagacity in [Cardinal] Baronius, who, it seems, [in his *Annales Ecclesiastici*, ad A. Chr. 58. § 36.] makes St. Paul write his Epistle to Titus from Macedonia upon his second visit into that province ; whereas it appears from the history, that Titus, instead of being in Crete, where the epistle places him, was at that time sent by the apostle from Macedonia to Corinth. “ Animadvertere est,” says Cappellus, “ magnam hominis illius ἀβελαν, qui vult Titum a Paulo in Cretam abductum, illicque relictum, cum inde Nicopolim navigaret, quem tamen agnoscit a Paulo ex Macedoniâ missum esse Corinthum.” This probably will be thought a detection of inconsistency in Baronius. But what is the

most remarkable, is, that in the same chapter in which he thus indulges his contempt of Baronius's judgment, Cappellus himself falls into an error of the same kind, and more gross and palpable than that which he reproves. For he begins the chapter [p. 72.] by stating the Second Epistle to the Corinthians and the First Epistle to Timothy to be nearly cotemporary; to have been both written during the apostle's second visit into Macedonia; and that a doubt subsisted concerning the immediate priority of their dates: "Posterior ad eosdem Corinthios epistola, et prior ad Timotheum certant de prioritate, et sub judice lis est; utraque autem scripta est paulo postquam Paulus Epheso discessisset, adeoque dum Macedoniam peragraret, sed utra tempore præcedat, non liquet." Now, in the first place, it is highly improbable that the two epistles should have been written either nearly together, or during the same journey through Macedonia; for in the Epistle to the Corinthians, Timothy appears to have been *with* St. Paul; in the epistle addressed to him, to have been left behind at Ephesus, and not only left behind, but directed to continue there, till St. Paul should return to that city. In the second place, it is inconceivable, that a question should be proposed concerning the priority of date of the two epistles: for, when St. Paul, in his Epistle to Timothy, opens his address to him by saying, "as I besought thee to abide still at Ephesus when I went into Macedonia," no reader can doubt but that he here refers to the *last* interview which had passed between them; that he had not seen him since: whereas if the epistle be posterior to that to the Corinthians, yet written upon the same visit into Macedonia, this could not be true; for as Timothy was along with St. Paul when he wrote to the Corinthians, he must, upon this supposition, have passed over to St. Paul in Macedonia after he had been left by him at Ephesus, and must have returned to Ephesus again before the epistle was written. What misled Ludovicus Cappellus was simply this, that he had entirely overlooked Timothy's name in the superscription of the Second Epistle to the Corinthians. Which oversight appears not only in the quotation which we have

given, but from his telling us, as he does, that Timothy came from Ephesus to St. Paul at *Corinth*, whereas the superscription proves that Timothy was already with St. Paul when he wrote to the Corinthians from Macedonia.

CHAP. XVI.

THE CONCLUSION.

IN the outset of this inquiry, the reader was directed to consider the Acts of the Apostles and the thirteen epistles of St. Paul as certain ancient manuscripts lately discovered in the closet of some celebrated library. We have adhered to this view of the subject. External evidence of every kind has been removed out of sight; and our endeavours have been employed to collect the indications of truth and authenticity, which appeared to exist in the writings themselves, and to result from a comparison of their different parts. It is not however necessary to continue this supposition longer. The testimony which other remains of cotemporary, or the monuments of adjoining ages afford to the reception, notoriety, and public estimation of a book, form no doubt the first proof of its genuineness. And in no books whatever is this proof more complete, than in those at present under our consideration. The inquiries of learned men, and, above all, of the excellent Lardner, who never overstates a point of evidence, and whose fidelity in citing his authorities has in no one instance been impeached, have established, concerning these writings, the following propositions:—

I. That in the age immediately posterior to that in which St. Paul lived, his letters were publicly read and acknowledged.

Some of them are quoted or alluded to by almost every Christian writer that followed, by Clement of Rome, by Hermas, by Ignatius, by Polycarp, disciples or cotem-

poraries of the apostles ; by Justin Martyr, by the churches of Gaul, by Irenæus, by Athenagoras, by Theophilus, by Clement of Alexandria, by Hermias, by Tertullian, who occupied the succeeding age. Now when we find a book quoted or referred to by an ancient author, we are entitled to conclude, that it was read and received in the age and country in which that author lived. And this conclusion does not, in any degree, rest upon the judgment or character of the author making such reference. Proceeding by this rule, we have, concerning the First Epistle to the Corinthians in particular, within forty years after the epistle was written, evidence, not only of its being extant at Corinth, but of its being known and read at Rome. Clement, bishop of that city, writing to the church of Corinth, uses these words : [c. 47.] “ Take “ into your hands the epistle of the blessed Paul the “ apostle. What did he at first write unto you in the “ beginning of the gospel ? Verily he did by the Spirit “ admonish you concerning himself and Cephas and Apol- “ los, because that even then you did form parties.” * This was written at a time when probably some must have been living at Corinth, who remembered St. Paul’s ministry there and the receipt of the epistle. [The name of Fortunatus does occur, c. 58, that of a Corinthian well known to St. Paul, 1 Cor. xvi. 17.]

The testimony is still more valuable, as it shows that the epistles were preserved in the churches to which they were sent, and that they were spread and propagated from them to the rest of the Christian community. Agreeably to which natural mode and order of their publication, Tertullian, a century afterwards, for proof of the integrity and genuineness of the apostolic writings, bids “ any one, “ who is willing to exercise his curiosity profitably in “ the business of their salvation, to visit the apostolical “ churches, in which their very authentic letters are re- “ cited, *ipsæ authenticæ literæ eorum recitantur.*” Then he goes on : “ Is Achaia near you ? You have Corinth. “ If you are not far from Macedonia, you have Philippi,

* See Lardner, vol. xii. p. 22.

“ you have Thessalonica. If you can go to Asia, you have Ephesus ; but if you are near to Italy, you have Rome.” * I adduce this passage to show, that the distinct churches or Christian societies, to which St. Paul’s epistles were sent, subsisted for some ages afterwards ; that his several epistles were all along respectively read in those churches ; that Christians at large received them from those churches, and appealed to those churches for their original and authenticity.

Arguing in like manner from citations and allusions, we have, within the space of a hundred and fifty years from the time that the first of St. Paul’s epistles was written, proofs of almost all of them being read, in Palestine, Syria, the countries of Asia Minor, in Egypt, in that part of Africa which used the Latin tongue, in Greece, Italy, and Gaul. † I do not mean simply to assert, that, within the space of a hundred and fifty years, St. Paul’s epistles were read in those countries, for I believe that they were read and circulated from the beginning ; but that proofs of their being so read occur within that period. And when it is considered how few of the primitive Christians wrote, and of what was written how much is lost, we are to account it extraordinary, or rather as a sure proof of the extensiveness of the reputation of these writings, and of the general respect in which they were held, that so many testimonies, and of such antiquity, are still extant. “ In the remaining works of Irenæus, Clement of Alexandria, and Tertullian, there are perhaps more and larger quotations of the small volume of the New Testament, than of all the works of Cicero, in the writings of all characters for several ages.” ‡ We must add, that the epistles of Paul come in for their full share of this observation ; and that all the thirteen epistles, except that to Philemon, which is not quoted by Irenæus or Clement, and which probably escaped notice merely by its brevity, are severally cited, and expressly recognised as St. Paul’s, by each of these Christian writers. The

* Lardner, vol. ii. p. 598.

† *Vide* Lardner’s Recapitulation, vol. xii. p. 53.

‡ *Ibid.*

Ebionites, an early, though inconsiderable Christian sect, rejected St. Paul and his epistles *; that is, they rejected these epistles, not because they were not, but because they were St. Paul's; and because, adhering to the obligation of the Jewish law, they chose to dispute his doctrine and authority. Their suffrage as to the genuineness of the epistles does not contradict that of other Christians. Marcion, an heretical writer in the former part of the second century, is said by Tertullian to have rejected three of the epistles which we now receive, viz. the two Epistles to Timothy and the Epistle to Titus. It appears to me not improbable, that Marcion might make some such distinction as this, that no apostolic epistle was to be admitted which was not read or attested by the church to which it was sent; for it is remarkable that, together with these epistles to private persons, he rejected also the catholic epistles. Now the catholic epistles and the epistles to private persons agree in the circumstance of wanting this particular species of attestation. Marcion, it seems, acknowledged the Epistle to Philemon, and is upbraided for his inconsistency in doing so by Tertullian†, who asks "why, when he received a letter written to a single person, he should refuse two to Timothy and one to Titus composed upon the affairs of the church?" This passage so far favours our account of Marcion's objection, as it shows that the objection was supposed by Tertullian to have been founded in something, which belonged to the nature of a private letter.

Nothing of the works of Marcion remains. Probably he was, after all, a rash, arbitrary, licentious critic (if he deserved indeed the name of critic), and who offered no reason for his determination. What St. Jerome says of him intimates this, and is beside founded in good sense; speaking of him and Basilides, "if they had assigned any reasons," says he, "why they did not reckon these epistles," viz. the First and Second to Timothy and the Epistle to Titus, "to be the apostle's, we would have endeavoured to have answered them, and perhaps

* Lardner, vol. ii. p. 808.

† Ibid. vol. xiv. p. 455.

“ might have satisfied the reader ; but when they take upon them, by their own authority, to pronounce one epistle to be Paul’s, and another not, they can only be replied to in the same manner.” * Let it be remembered, however, that Marcion received ten of these epistles. His authority, therefore, even if his credit had been better than it is, forms a very small exception to the uniformity of the evidence. Of Basilides we know still less than we do of Marcion. The same observation however belongs to him, viz. that his objection, as far as appears from this passage of St. Jerome, was confined to the three private epistles. Yet is this the only opinion which can be said to disturb the consent of the two first centuries of the Christian æra ; for as to Tatian, who is reported by Jerome alone to have rejected some of St. Paul’s epistles, the extravagant or rather delirious notions into which he fell, take away all weight and credit from his judgment. If, indeed, Jerome’s account of this circumstance be correct ; for it appears from much older writers than Jerome, that Tatian owned and used many of these epistles.†

II. They, who in those ages disputed about so many other points, agreed in acknowledging the scriptures now before us. Contending sects appealed to them in their controversies with equal and unreserved submission. When they were urged by one side, however they might be interpreted or misinterpreted by the other, their authority was not questioned : “ Reliqui omnes,” says Irenæus, speaking of Marcion, “ falso scientiæ nomine inflati, “ scripturas quidem confitentur, interpretationes vero convertunt.” ‡

III. When the genuineness of some other writings which were in circulation, and even of a few which are now received into the canon, was contested, these were never called into dispute. Whatever was the objection, or whether, in truth, there ever was any real objection to the authenticity of the Second Epistle of Peter, the Second and Third of John, the Epistle of James, or that of Jude, or to the book of the Revelations of St. John,

* Lardner, vol. xiv. p. 458.

† Ibid. vol. i. p. 313.

‡ Iren. advers. Hær. quoted by Lardner, vol. xv. p. 425.

the doubts that appear to have been entertained concerning them, exceedingly strengthen the force of the testimony as to those writings, about which there was no doubt ; because it shows, that the matter was a subject, amongst the early Christians, of examination and discussion, and that, where there was any room to doubt, they did doubt.

What Eusebius hath left upon the subject is directly to the purpose of this observation. Eusebius, it is well known, divided the ecclesiastical writings which were extant in his time into three classes ; the “*ἀναντιρρήτα*” “uncontradicted,” as he calls them in one chapter ; or “scriptures universally acknowledged,” as he calls them in another ; the “controverted, yet well known and approved by many ;” and the “spurious.” What were the shades of difference in the books of the second, or in those of the third class ; or what it was precisely that he meant by the term *spurious*, it is not necessary in this place to enquire. It is sufficient for us to find, that the thirteen epistles of St. Paul are placed by him in the first class without any sort of hesitation or doubt.

It is farther also to be collected from the chapter in which this distinction is laid down, that the method made use of by Eusebius, and by the Christians of his time, viz. the close of the third century, in judging concerning the sacred authority of any books, was to enquire after and consider the testimony of those who lived near the age of the apostles.*

IV. No ancient writing, which is attested as these epistles are, hath had its authenticity disproved, or is in fact questioned. The controversies which have been moved concerning suspected writings, as the epistles, for instance, of Phalaris, or the eighteen epistles of Cicero, begin by showing that this attestation is wanting. That being proved, the question is thrown back upon internal marks of spuriousness or authenticity ; and in these the dispute is occupied. In which disputes it is to be observed, that the contested writings are commonly attacked by arguments drawn from some opposition which they

* Lardner, vol. viii. p. 106.

betray to "authentic history," to "true epistles," to "the real sentiments or circumstances of the author whom they personate*," which authentic history, which true epistles, which real sentiments themselves, are no other than ancient documents, whose early existence and reception can be proved, in the manner in which the writings before us are traced up to the age of their reputed author, or to ages near to his. A modern, who sits down to compose the history of some ancient period, has no stronger evidence to appeal to for the most confident assertion, or the most undisputed fact, that he delivers, than writings, whose genuineness is proved by the same medium through which we evince the authenticity of ours. Nor, whilst he can have recourse to such authorities as these, does he apprehend any uncertainty in his accounts, from the suspicion of spuriousness or imposture in his materials.

V. It cannot be shown that any forgeries properly so called †, that is, writings published under the name of the person who did not compose them, made their appearance in the first century of the Christian æra, in which century these epistles undoubtedly existed. I shall set down under this proposition the guarded words of Lardner himself: "There are no quotations of any of them (spurious and apocryphal books) in the apostolical fathers, by whom I mean Barnabas, Clement of Rome, Hermas, Ignatius, and Polycarp, whose writings reach from the year of our Lord 70 to the year 108. *I say this confidently, because I think it has been proved.*" Lardner, vol. xii. p. 158.

Nor when they did appear were they much used by the primitive Christians. "Irenæus quotes not any of these books. He mentions some of them, but he never quotes them. The same may be said of Tertullian: he

* See the tracts written in the controversy between Tunstal and Middleton upon certain suspected epistles ascribed to Cicero.

† I believe that there is a great deal of truth in Dr. Lardner's observations, that comparatively few of those books, which we call apocryphal, were strictly and originally forgeries. See Lardner, vol. xii. p. 167.

“ has mentioned a book called ‘ Acts of Paul and Thecla ;’
 “ but it is only to condemn it. Clement of Alexandria and
 “ Origen have mentioned and quoted several such books,
 “ but never as authority, and sometimes with express
 “ marks of dislike. Eusebius quotes no such books in
 “ any of his works. He has mentioned them indeed,
 “ but how ? Not by way of approbation, but to show that
 “ they were of little or no value ; and that they never
 “ were received by the sounder part of Christians.” Now
 if with this, which is advanced after the most minute and
 diligent examination, we compare what the same cautious
 writer had before said of our received scriptures, “ that
 “ in the works of three only of the above-mentioned
 “ fathers, there are more and larger quotations of the
 “ small volume of the New Testament, than of all the
 “ works of Cicero in the writers of all characters for
 “ several ages ;” and if, with the marks of obscurity or
 condemnation, which accompanied the mention of the
 several apocryphal Christian writings, when they hap-
 pened to be mentioned at all, we contrast what Dr. Lard-
 ner’s work completely and in detail makes out concerning
 the writings which we defend, and what, having so made
 out, he thought himself authorised in his conclusion to
 assert, that these books were not only received from the
 beginning, but received with the greatest respect ; have
 been publicly and solemnly read in the assemblies of
 Christians throughout the world, in every age from that
 time to this ; early translated into the languages of divers
 countries and people ; commentaries writ to explain and
 illustrate them ; quoted by way of proof in all arguments
 of a religious nature ; recommended to the perusal of un-
 believers, as containing the authentic account of the Chris-
 tian doctrine ;—when we attend, I say, to this represent-
 ation, we perceive in it, not only full proof of the early
 notoriety of these books, but a clear and sensible line of
 discrimination, which separates these from the pretensions
 of any others.

The epistles of St. Paul stand particularly free of any
 doubt or confusion that might arise from this source.
 Until the conclusion of the fourth century, no intimation

appears of any attempt whatever being made to counterfeit these writings ; and then it appears only of a single and obscure instance. Jerome, who flourished in the year 392, has this expression : “ *Legunt quidam et ad Laodicensis ; sed ab omnibus exploditur ;* ” there is also an epistle to the Laodiceans, but it is rejected by everybody.* Theodoret, who wrote in the year 423, speaks of this epistle in the same terms.† Beside these I know not whether any ancient writer mentions it. It was certainly unnoticed during the three first centuries of the church ; and when it came afterwards to be mentioned, it was mentioned only to show, that, though such a writing did exist, it obtained no credit. It is probable that the forgery to which Jerome alludes, is the epistle which we now have under that title. If so, as hath been already observed, it is nothing more than a collection of sentences from the genuine epistles ; and was, perhaps, at first, rather the exercise of some idle pen, than any serious attempt to impose a forgery upon the public. Of an epistle to the Corinthians under St. Paul’s name, which was brought into Europe in the present century, antiquity is entirely silent. It was unheard of for sixteen centuries ; and at this day, though it be extant, and was first found in the Armenian language, it is not, by the Christians of that country, received into their scriptures. I hope, after this, that there is no reader who will think there is any competition of credit, or of external proof, between these and the received epistles ; or rather who will not acknowledge the evidence of authenticity to be confirmed by the want of success which attended imposture.

When we take into our hands the letters which the suffrage and consent of antiquity hath thus transmitted to us, the first thing that strikes our attention is the air of reality and business, as well as of seriousness and conviction, which pervades the whole. Let the sceptic read them. If he be not sensible of these qualities in them, the argument can have no weight with him. If he be ; if he perceive in almost every page the language of a

* Lardner, vol. x. p. 103.

† Ibid. vol. xi. p. 88.

mind, actuated by real occasions, and operating upon real circumstances, I would wish it to be observed, that the proof which arises from this perception is not to be deemed occult or imaginary, because it is incapable of being drawn out in words, or of being conveyed to the apprehension of the reader in any other way, than by sending him to the books themselves.

And here, in its proper place, comes in the argument which it has been the office of these pages to unfold. St. Paul's epistles are connected with his history by their particularity, and by the numerous circumstances which are found in them. When we descend to an examination and comparison of these circumstances, we not only observe the history and the epistles to be independent documents, unknown to, or at least unconsulted by, each other, but we find the substance, and oftentimes very minute articles, of the history, recognised in the epistles, by allusions and references, which can neither be imputed to *design*, nor, without a foundation in truth, be accounted for by accident; by hints and expressions and single words dropping as it were fortuitously from the pen of the writer, or drawn forth, each by some occasion proper to the place in which it occurs, but widely removed from any view to consistency or agreement. These, we know, are effects which reality naturally produces, but which, without reality at the bottom, can hardly be conceived to exist.

When, therefore, with a body of external evidence, which is relied upon, and which experience proves may safely be relied upon, in appreciating the credit of ancient writings, we combine characters of genuineness and originality which are not found, and which, in the nature and order of things, cannot be expected to be found, in spurious compositions; whatever difficulties we may meet with in other topics of the Christian evidence, we can have little in yielding our assent to the following conclusions: That there was such a person as St. Paul; that he lived in the age which we ascribe to him; that he went about preaching the religion of which Jesus Christ was the founder; and that the letters which we now read were

actually written by him upon the subject, and in the course of that his ministry.

And if it be true that we are in possession of the very letters which St. Paul wrote, let us consider what confirmation they afford to the Christian history. In my opinion they substantiate the whole transaction. The great object of modern research is to come at the epistolary correspondence of the times. Amidst the obscurities, the silence, or the contradictions of history, if a letter can be found, we regard it as the discovery of a landmark; as that by which we can correct, adjust, or supply the imperfections and uncertainties of other accounts. One cause of the superior credit which is attributed to letters is this, that the facts which they disclose, generally come out *incidentally*, and therefore without design to mislead the public by false or exaggerated accounts. This reason may be applied to St. Paul's epistles with as much justice as to any letters whatever. Nothing could be farther from the intention of the writer than to record any part of his history. That his history was *in fact* made public by these letters, and has by the same means been transmitted to future ages, is a secondary and unthought of effect. The sincerity, therefore, of the apostle's declarations cannot reasonably be disputed; at least we are sure that it was not vitiated by any desire of setting himself off to the public at large. But these letters form a part of the muniments of Christianity, as much to be valued for their contents as for their originality. A more inestimable treasure the care of antiquity could not have sent down to us. Beside the proof they afford of the general reality of St. Paul's history, of the knowledge which the author of the Acts of the Apostles had obtained of that history, and the consequent probability that he was, what he professes himself to have been, a companion of the apostle's; beside the support they lend to these important inferences, they meet specifically some of the principal objections upon which the adversaries of Christianity have thought proper to rely. In particular they show,

I. That Christianity was not a story set on foot amidst the confusions which attended and immediately preceded

the destruction of Jerusalem ; when many extravagant reports were circulated, when men's minds were broken by terror and distress, when amidst the tumults that surrounded them enquiry was impracticable. These letters show incontestably that the religion had fixed and established itself before this state of things took place.

II. Whereas it hath been insinuated, that our gospels may have been made up of reports and stories which were current at the time, we may observe that, with respect to the epistles, this is impossible. A man cannot write the history of his own life from reports ; nor, what is the same thing, be led by reports to refer to passages and transactions in which he states himself to have been immediately present and active. I do not allow that this insinuation is applied to the historical part of the New Testament with any colour of justice or probability ; but I say, that to the epistles it is not applicable at all.

III. These letters prove that the converts to Christianity were not drawn from the barbarous, the mean, or the ignorant set of men, which the representations of infidelity would sometimes make them. We learn from letters the character not only of the writer, but, in some measure, of the persons to whom they are written. To suppose that these letters were addressed to a rude tribe, incapable of thought or reflection, is just as reasonable as to suppose Locke's Essay on the Human Understanding to have been written for the instruction of savages. Whatever may be thought of these letters in other respects, either of diction or argument, they are certainly removed as far as possible from the habits and comprehension of a barbarous people.

IV. St. Paul's history, I mean so much of it as may be collected from his letters, is so *implicated* with that of the other apostles, and with the substance indeed of the Christian history itself, that I apprehend it will be found impossible to admit St. Paul's story (I do not speak of the miraculous part of it) to be true, and yet to reject the rest as fabulous. For instance, can any one believe that there was such a man as Paul, a preacher of Christianity in the age which we assign to him, and *not* believe that

there were also at the same time such men as Peter and James, and other apostles, who had been companions of Christ during his life, and who after his death published and avowed the same things concerning him which Paul taught? Judea, and especially Jerusalem, was the scene of Christ's ministry. The witnesses of his miracles lived there. St. Paul, by his own account, as well as that of his historian, appears to have frequently visited this city; to have carried on a communication with the church there; to have associated with the rulers and elders of that church, who were some of them apostles; to have acted, as occasions offered, in correspondence, and sometimes in conjunction with them. Can it, after this, be doubted, but that the religion and the general facts relating to it, which St. Paul appears by his letters to have delivered to the several churches which he established at a distance, were, at the same time, taught and published at Jerusalem itself, the place where the business was transacted; and taught and published by those who had attended the founder of the institution in his miraculous, or pretendedly miraculous, ministry?

It is observable, for so it appears both in the epistles and from the Acts of the Apostles, that Jerusalem, and the society of believers in that city, long continued the centre from which the missionaries of the religion issued, with which all other churches maintained a correspondence and connection, to which they referred their doubts, and to whose relief, in times of public distress, they remitted their charitable assistance. This observation I think material, because it proves that this was not the case of giving out accounts in one country of what is transacted in another, without affording the hearers an opportunity of knowing whether the things related were credited by any, or even published, in the place where they are reported to have passed.

V. St. Paul's letters furnish evidence (and what better evidence than a man's own letters can be desired?) of the soundness and sobriety of his judgment. His caution in distinguishing between the occasional suggestions of inspiration, and the ordinary exercise of his natural under-

standing, is without example in the history of human enthusiasm. His morality is everywhere calm, pure, and rational; adapted to the condition, the activity, and the business of social life, and of its various relations; free from the over-scrupulousness and austerities of superstition, and from, what was more perhaps to be apprehended, the abstractions of quietism, and the soarings or extravagancies of fanaticism. His judgment concerning a hesitating conscience; his opinion of the moral indifference of many actions, yet of the prudence and even the duty of compliance, where non-compliance would produce evil effects upon the minds of the persons who observed it, is as correct and just as the most liberal and enlightened moralist could form at this day. The accuracy of modern ethics [enlightened as it is by the Gospel] has found nothing to amend in these determinations.

What Lord Lyttleton has remarked of the preference ascribed by St. Paul to inward rectitude of principle above every other religious accomplishment, is very material to our present purpose. "In his First Epistle to the Corinthians, ch. xiii. ver. 1—3, St. Paul has these words: "*Though I speak with the tongues of men and of angels, and have not charity, I am become as sounding brass, or a tinkling cymbal. And though I have the gift of prophecy, and understand all mysteries and all knowledge, and though I have all faith, so that I could remove mountains, and have not charity, I am nothing. And though I bestow all my goods to feed the poor, and though I give my body to be burned, and have not charity, it profiteth me nothing.* Is this the language of enthusiasm? Did ever enthusiast prefer that universal benevolence which comprehendeth all moral virtues, and which, as appeareth by the following verses, is meant by charity here; did ever enthusiast, I say, prefer that benevolence" (which, we may add, is attainable by every man) "to faith and to miracles, to those religious opinions which he had embraced, and to those supernatural graces and gifts which he imagined he had acquired; nay, even to the merit of martyrdom? Is it not the genius of enthusiasm to set moral virtues in-

“ finitely below the merit of faith ; and of all moral virtues to value that least which is most particularly enforced by St. Paul, a spirit of candour, moderation, and peace? Certainly neither the temper nor the opinions of a man subject to fanatic delusions are to be found in this passage.” — Lord Lyttleton’s *Considerations on the Conversion, &c.*

I see no reason therefore to question the integrity of his understanding. To call him a visionary, because he appealed to visions ; or an enthusiast, because he pretended to inspiration, is to take the whole question for granted. It is to take for granted that no such visions or inspirations existed ; at least it is to assume, contrary to his own assertions, that he had no other proofs than these to offer of his mission, or of the truth of his relations.

One thing I allow, that his letters every where discover great zeal and earnestness in the cause in which he was engaged ; that is to say, he was convinced of the truth of what he taught ; he was deeply impressed, but not more so than the occasion merited, with a sense of its importance. This produces a corresponding animation and solicitude in the exercise of his ministry. But would not these considerations, supposing them to be well founded, have holden the same place, and produced the same effect, in a mind the strongest and the most sedate ?

VI. These letters are decisive as to the sufferings of the author ; also as to the distressed state of the Christian church, and the dangers which attended the preaching of the gospel.

“ Whereof I Paul am made a minister, who now rejoice in my sufferings for you, and fill up that which is behind of the afflictions of Christ in my flesh, for his body’s sake, which is the church.” Col. i. 24.

“ If in this life only we have hope in Christ, we are of all men most miserable.” 1 Cor. xv. 19.

“ Why stand we in jeopardy every hour? I protest by your rejoicing, which I have in Christ Jesus, I die daily. If, after the manner of men, I have fought with

“ beasts at Ephesus, what advantageth it me if the dead
“ rise not ? ” 1 Cor. xv. 30, &c.

“ If children, then heirs ; heirs of God, and joint-heirs
“ with Christ : if so be that we suffer with him, that we
“ may be also glorified together. For I reckon that the
“ sufferings of this present time are not worthy to be
“ compared with the glory that shall be revealed in us.”
Rom. viii. 17, 18.

“ Who shall separate us from the love of Christ ? shall
“ tribulation, or distress, or persecution, or famine, or
“ nakedness, or peril, or sword ? As it is written, For
“ thy sake we are killed all the day long ; we are ac-
“ counted as sheep for the slaughter.” Rom. viii. 35, 36.

“ Rejoicing in hope, *patient in tribulation*, continuing
“ instant in prayer.” Rom. xii. 12.

“ Now concerning virgins I have no commandment of
“ the Lord ; yet I give my judgment, as one that hath
“ obtained mercy of the Lord to be faithful. I suppose
“ therefore that this is good *for the present distress* ; I
“ say, that it is good for a man so to be.” 1 Cor. vii.
25, 26.

“ For unto you it is given, in the behalf of Christ, not
“ only to believe on him, but also to suffer for his sake ;
“ having the same conflict which ye saw in me, and now
“ hear to be in me.” Philip. i. 29, 30.

“ God forbid that I should glory, save in the cross of
“ our Lord Jesus Christ, by whom the world is crucified
“ unto me, and I unto the world.”

“ From henceforth let no man trouble me, for I bear
“ in my body the marks of the Lord Jesus.” Gal. vi.
14. 17.

“ Ye became followers of us, and of the Lord, having
“ received the word in much affliction, with joy of the
“ Holy Ghost.” 1 Thess. i. 6.

“ We ourselves glory in you in the churches of God
“ for your patience and faith in all your persecutions and
“ tribulations that ye endure.” 2 Thess. i. 4.

We may seem to have accumulated texts unnecessarily ;
but beside that the point, which they are brought to prove,

is of great importance, there is this also to be remarked in every one of the passages cited, that the allusion is drawn from the writer by the argument or the occasion ; that the notice which is taken of his sufferings, and of the suffering condition of Christianity, is perfectly incidental, and is dictated by no design of stating the facts themselves. Indeed they are not stated at all : they may rather be said to be assumed. This is a distinction upon which we have relied a good deal in former parts of this treatise ; and where the writer's information cannot be doubted, it always, in my opinion, adds greatly to the value and credit of the testimony.

If any reader require from the apostle more direct and explicit assertions of the same thing, he will receive full satisfaction in the following quotations : —

“ Are they ministers of Christ ? (I speak as a fool) I am more ; in labours more abundant, in stripes above measure, in prisons more frequent, in deaths oft. Of the Jews five times received I forty stripes save one ; thrice was I beaten with rods, once was I stoned ; thrice I suffered shipwreck, a night and a day I have been in the deep ; in journeyings often, in perils of waters, in perils of robbers, in perils by mine own countrymen, in perils by the heathen, in perils in the city, in perils in the wilderness, in perils in the sea, in perils among false brethren ; in weariness and painfulness, in watchings often, in hunger and thirst, in fastings often, in cold and nakedness.” 2 Cor. xi. 23—28.

Can it be necessary to add more ? “ I think that God hath set forth us the apostles last, as it were appointed to death ; for we are made a spectacle unto the world, and to angels, and to men. — Even unto this present hour we both hunger and thirst, and are naked, and are buffeted, and have no certain dwelling-place, and labour, working with our own hands : being reviled, we bless ; being persecuted, we suffer it ; being defamed, we entreat : we are made as the filth of the earth, and are the offscouring of all things unto this day.” 1 Cor. iv. 9—13. I subjoin this passage to the former, because it extends to the other apostles of

Christianity much of that which St. Paul declared concerning himself.

In the following quotations, the reference to the author's sufferings is accompanied with a specification of time and place, and with an appeal for the truth of what he declares to the knowledge of the persons whom he addresses :
 " Even after that we had suffered before, and were shamefully entreated, *as ye know, at Philippi*, we were bold in our God to speak unto you the gospel of God with much contention." 1 Thess. ii. 2.

" But *thou hast fully known* my doctrine, manner of life, purpose, faith, long-suffering, persecutions, afflictions, which came to me *at Antioch, at Iconium, at Lystra* ; what persecutions I endured : but out of them all the Lord delivered me." 2 Tim. iii. 10, 11.

I apprehend that to this point, as far as the testimony of St. Paul is credited, the evidence from his letters is complete and full. It appears under every form in which it could appear, by occasional allusions and by direct assertions, by general declarations and by specific examples.

VII. St. Paul in these letters asserts, in positive and unequivocal terms, his performance of miracles strictly and properly so called.

" He therefore that ministereth to you the spirit, and worketh miracles (*ἐνεργῶν δυνάμεις*) among you, doeth he it by the works of the law, or by the hearing of faith ?" Gal. iii. 5.

" For I will not dare to speak of those things which Christ hath not wrought by me*, to make the Gentiles obedient, by word and deed, through mighty signs and wonders (*ἐν δυνάμει σημείων καὶ τεράτων*), by the power of the Spirit of God ; so that from Jerusalem and round about unto Illyricum I have fully preached the gospel of Christ." Rom. xv. 18, 19.

" Truly the signs of an apostle were wrought among you in all patience, in signs and wonders and mighty

* i. e. " I will speak of nothing but what Christ hath wrought by me ;" or, as Grotius interprets it, " Christ hath wrought so great things by me, that I will not dare say what he hath not wrought."

deeds" (ἐν σημείοις καὶ τέρασιν καὶ δυνάμει*). 2 Cor. xii. 12.

These words, signs, wonders, and mighty deeds (σημεῖα, καὶ τέρατα, καὶ δυνάμεις), are the specific appropriate terms throughout the New Testament, employed when public sensible miracles are intended to be expressed. This will appear by consulting, amongst other places, the texts referred to in the note†; and it cannot be shown that they are ever employed to express any thing else.

Secondly, these words not only denote miracles as opposed to natural effects, but they denote visible, ad what may be called external, miracles, as distinguished,

First, from *inspiration*. If St. Paul had meant to refer only to secret illuminations of his understanding, or secret influences upon his will or affections, he could not, with truth, have represented them as "signs and wonders wrought by him," or "signs and wonders and mighty deeds wrought amongst them."

Secondly, from *visions*. These would not, by any means, satisfy the force of the terms, "signs, wonders, and mighty deeds;" still less could they be said to be "wrought by him," or "wrought amongst them:" nor

* To these may be added the following indirect allusions, which though if they had stood alone, *i. e.* without plainer texts in the same writings, they might have been accounted dubious; yet, when considered in conjunction with the passages already cited, can hardly receive any other interpretation than that which we give them.

"My speech and my preaching was not with enticing words of men's wisdom, but in demonstration of the Spirit and of power; that your faith should not stand in the wisdom of men, but in the power of God." 1 Cor. ii. 4, 5.

"The gospel, whereof I was made a minister, according to the gift of the grace of God given unto me, by the effectual working of his power." Eph. iii. 7.

"For he that wrought effectually in Peter to the apostleship of the circumcision, the same was mighty in me towards the Gentiles." Gal. ii. 8.

"For our gospel came not unto you in word only, but also in power, and in the Holy Ghost, and in much assurance." 1 Thess. i. 5.

† Mark, xvi. 20. Luke, xxiii. 8. John, ii. 11. 23; iii. 2; iv. 48. 54; xi. 47. Acts, ii. 22; iv. 30; v. 12; vi. 8; viii. 6; xiv. 3; xv. 12. Heb. ii. 4.

are these terms and expressions any where applied to visions. When our author alludes to the supernatural communications which he had received, either by vision or otherwise, he uses expressions suited to the nature of the subject, but very different from the words which we have quoted. He calls them revelations, but never signs, wonders, or mighty deeds. "I will come," says he, "to visions and *revelations* of the Lord;" [2 Cor. xii. 1. .] and then proceeds to describe a particular instance, and afterwards adds, "lest I should be exalted above measure through the abundance of the revelations, there was given to me a thorn in the flesh." Upon the whole, the matter admits of no softening qualification, or ambiguity whatever. If St. Paul did not work actual, sensible, public miracles, he has knowingly, in these letters, borne his testimony to a falsehood. I need not add, that, in two also of the quotations, he has advanced his assertion in the face of those persons amongst whom he declares the miracles to have been wrought.

Let it be remembered that the Acts of the Apostles describe various particular miracles wrought by St. Paul, which in their nature answer to the terms and expressions which we have seen to be used by St. Paul himself.

Here then we have a man of liberal attainments, and in other points of sound judgment, who had addicted his life to the service of the gospel. We see him, in the prosecution of his purpose, travelling from country to country, enduring every species of hardship, encountering every extremity of danger, assaulted by the populace, punished by the magistrates, scourged, beat, stoned, left for dead; expecting, wherever he came, a renewal of the same treatment, and the same dangers, yet, when driven from one city, preaching in the next; spending his whole time in the employment, sacrificing to it his pleasures, his ease, his safety; persisting in this course to old age, unaltered by the experience of perverseness, ingratitude, prejudice, desertion; unsubdued by anxiety, want, labour, persecu-

tions ; unwearied by long confinement, undismayed by the prospect of death. Such was St. Paul. We have his letters in our hands : we have also a history purporting to be written by one of his fellow-travellers, and appearing, by a comparison with these letters, certainly to have been written by some person well acquainted with the transactions of his life. From the letters, as well as from the history, we gather not only the account which we have stated of *him*, but that he was one out of many who acted and suffered in the same manner ; and that, of those who did so, several had been the companions of Christ's ministry, the ocular witnesses, or pretending to be such, of his miracles, and of his resurrection. We moreover find this same person referring in his letters to his supernatural conversion, the particulars and accompanying circumstances of which are related in the history, and which accompanying circumstances, if all or any of them be true, render it impossible to have been a delusion. We also find him positively, and in appropriated terms, asserting, that he himself worked miracles, strictly and properly so called, in support of the mission which he executed ; the history, meanwhile, recording various passages of his ministry, which come up to the extent of this assertion. The question is, whether falsehood was ever attested by evidence like this. Falsehoods, we know, have found their way into reports, into tradition, into books : but is an example to be met with, of a man voluntarily undertaking a life of want and pain, of incessant fatigue, of continual peril ; submitting to the loss of his home and country, to stripes and stoning, to tedious imprisonment, and the constant expectation of a violent death, for the sake of carrying about a story of what was false, and of what, if false, he must have known to be so ?

THE END.

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